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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, AS WELL Eccleſiaſtical as Civil.

BY

Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. XIII.

CONTAINING

I. Memoirs of the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN.
II. The *Commonwealth*, Protectorates of *Oliver* and *Richard Cromwell*, &c. with the Twelve firſt Years of the Reign of King CHARLES II.

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with large and uſeful NOTES mark'd with an *, by N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of* Great-Waltham *in* Eſſex.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES and JOHN KNAPTON at the *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard. MDCCXXX.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

A

LETTER

TO

Mr. ----------

Containing ſome Particulars of the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

SIR,



Imagined you would be ſurprized at my Backwardneſs to ſecond your Deſign of Writing the Life of Mr. DE RAPIN. This has given me ſome Concern, for I would fain have complied with your Motion: But to ſay the Truth, I could not till now come to any Reſolution. I know not how the Publick ſtands affected, and though I ſuppoſe with you, that the World would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. DE RAPIN, I ſhould think nothing can better ſatisfy their Curioſity than his new *Hiſtory of England*, it not being poſſible, in my Opi-

nion, but in ſo voluminous a Work, an Author draws his own Picture himſelf, though undeſignedly, more to the Life than any other Hand can do. If you ſay this is not ſufficient, becauſe there is nothing ſaid concerning his Family, and the Adventures he may have run through: I anſwer, that the two Elogies of Mr. DE RAPIN, one in the Xth Volume of the *Bibliotheque Germanique*, the other in the *Hiſtoire Literaire* of *February* 1726, ſeem to contain all that is proper to be ſaid on theſe two Heads. Hence you are ſenſible that I have not the ſame Scruple about what you propoſe at preſent, that at leaſt theſe Elogies may appear again perfixed to the *Hiſtory of England*. Indeed I do not ſee any Inconveniency in it. What is more, I am reſolved to publiſh them my ſelf, but with ſome Alterations; that is to ſay, of the two I deſign to make one Diſcourſe, borrowing from both what ſhall occur to my Mind, without ſtudying either to ſwerve from, or to copy after them, that there may be room to inſert ſome Particulars that are paſſed over in Silence. It may be I ſhall go too far, contrary to my firſt Intention; however that be, you may depend upon it I ſhall ſay nothing but what I have been fully and perfectly informed of, and what Mr. DE RAPIN's Family are ready to juſtify. Mean while, as in this Thing I have no other view but your Satisfaction, you may make what uſe you pleaſe of this Letter, ſuppreſs what you do not like; nay, if you think fit, content yourſelf with the Elogies alone, ſuch as they were at firſt, which perhaps would be beſt. But to begin.

Mr. DE RAPIN, counted among his Anceſtors and Relations many eminent Perſons as well *Warriours* as *Gownſ-men*. His Family is originally from *Savoy*, where it flouriſhed Time out of Mind *, and filled ſeveral

* By the Titles of this Family it appears that the *Rapins* were *Noble* in the Year 1250. The Branches that are in *Savoy* pretend to a greater Antiquity: But of that I can ſay nothing.

ſeveral honourable Poſts *. As for perſonal Qualities I have no Information, ſo cannot ſay whether it was owing to a prudent Care, or in order to immortalize an ill-grounded Enmity, that a Biſhop of St. *John de Maurienne* cauſed to be ingraved, in the Epiſcopal Palace, an Inſcription which is ſtill to be ſeen in theſe Words, *Caveant Succeſſores noſtri a familiâ Rapinorum*, that is, *Let our Succeſſors beware of the* RAPINS. On the other Hand, this Family pretends that their external Luſtre was impaired purely on account of their ſteady Adherence to the Laws of Honour and Juſtice. This is what is inſinuated by the Author of the following Verſes, which are not quoted here for their Elegance.

Pour n' avoir ſans beſoin ſu prendre,
On voit tomber cette maiſon :
Si l' Effet eût ſuivi ſon nom
Elle auroit de quoi ſe defendre.

That is,

This Family, being too honeſt to invade the Property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their Name implies, they would have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves.

But to draw nearer to Mr. DE RAPIN, I come to four Brothers of that Name, who ſettled in *France* in the Reign of *Francis* I *1.

One, a Clergyman, was *Almoner* to Queen *Catharine de Medicis*, who ſent to the Duke of *Savoy* for him. Beſides the Preferments he enjoyed in his own Country, he was called the King's *Orator*, but what that means I cannot tell.

His

* It is known in general, that ſome of the *Rapins* at ſeveral Times were *Syndicks* of the Nobles of their Country: others were deputed by the Nobility to go in their Name and do Homage to the Duke of *Savoy* their Sovereign.

*1 Between the Years 1525 and 1547.

His Brothers, of whom but one left any Children, were all three Soldiers, and embraced the Reformed Religion: Nay, it is very probable that they abandoned their Country for the ſake of profeſſing the ſame.

The eldeſt was a Colonel of Foot, and Governour of *Montauban*, with Authority over the neighbouring Governours. His Name is among thoſe of the Viſcounts, who commanded the Troops of the *Reformed* in the Southern Parts of *France*. Letters ſtill extant ſhow how well known he was to King *Henry* IV, to *Lewis* and *Henry* Princes of *Condé*, to Admiral *Chaſtillon*, and to ſeveral other Perſons of the firſt Quality.

All we know of one of his Brothers called *Peter*, is that a Commiſſion of Captain of Horſe muſt, by all Circumſtances, have been his; but of this we cannot be ſure, becauſe there is no Name expreſſed in it.

Philibert another Brother, was *Gentleman* to the Prince of *Condé*, and afterwards his Steward *. His Reputation as a Soldier was as great as his Capacity for Buſineſs *1, but both proved fatal to him, as they

* *Maitre d' Hôtel de ſa Maiſon*, that is to ſay, he had the Management of the Prince's Houſe in the higheſt Senſe of the Word, and not as we underſtand the Term *Steward* at preſent.

*1 *Bello ſtrenuus*, ſays *Thuanus*, lib. 32.

In fine, Rapin *was in great Repute amongſt his own Party. The Conſpirators of* Tholouſe *made choice of him to treat in their Name with* Fourquevaux, *which is a clear Evidence that he had a Head to manage, as well as a Hand to act.* Annals *of* Tholouſe, *Ann.* 1568.

The Conference ſpoken of in this Paſſage, was held to ſee whether there was any way of Accommodation between the two Parties; but it proved fruitleſs, and only ſerved to exaſperate them more than ever. Shortly after a Battle was fought in the City, which laſted ſome Days, wherein the *Proteſtants* who were pretty numerous there, but however inferiour in Number to the *Catholicks*, loſt three Thouſand Men, and were in the end chaſed out of the City. A ſolemn *Proceſſion* was inſtituted in Commemoration of this Event. When Peace was reſtored, the *Reformed* complained of this *Proceſſion*, as a Thing which revived the Memory of the Troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future; nevertheleſs it has been all along continued; only it was removed from the 12th of *May*, to the 17th, on ſome Pretence or other.

they drew upon him the Enmity of the *Catholicks*, and eſpecially of the Parliament of *Tholouſe* *, who cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off at the very Time that he was come, by the King's Order, to have the Edict of the Peace of 1568 to be regiſtered.

The *French* Hiſtorians ſpeak ſeveral Times of theſe two Brothers. Only Father *Daniel* does not mention them, and paſſes over in Silence, the cruel Execution juſt ſpoken of *1. The Reaſon does not appear at firſt, for he cannot ſay, this Sentence how unjuſt ſoever it may be ſuppoſed, is only a private Affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleaſed, ſince it is viſible on the contrary, that ſuch an Event, rendered memorable *2 by its Circumſtances and Conſequences ought to have Place in Hiſtory. But when we conſider, we find this able Hiſtorian has very artfully managed this Omiſſion for two uſes; firſt, to wipe out, as far as in them lay, all remembrance of a Rage which reflects ſuch Diſhonour on the *Papiſts*; ſecondly, to render the *Reformed* odious, when he comes to ſpeak of the Ravages committed by the Admiral's Army ſome Time after about *Tholouſe*. Mean while, with regard to theſe Ravages, he was not

* *Homo bellis ſuperioribus* ——— *Clarus ob idque Toloſanis inviſus.* Thuan. lib. 32.

*1 It might be alledged that there are no Proofs of it. But ſince *Thuanus* and *Mezerai*, with whom few Writers can be compared for Faithfulneſs, ſpeak of it, it muſt be inferred either that there were Proofs in their Days, or that they were warranted by the Notoriouſneſs of the Fact. And what puts it out of all queſtion is, that M. *de la Faille*, who writ laſt at *Tholouſe*, the Annals of that City, of which he was *Syndic*, though he takes notice that the *Arrêt* againſt *Rapin* is not to be found (having been doubtleſs razed out of the Regiſters for the Parliament's Honour) yet ſays more of the Matter than all thoſe that went before.

*2 *This Execution of* Rapin *made a great Noiſe, and the Prince very juſtly complained of it to the King and Queen. Their Majeſties alſo expreſſed great Reſentment againſt the Parliament of* Tholouſe, *in their Letters to them on that Occaſion.* Annals *of* Tholouſe. *Ann.* 1568.

It is left to the Reader to judge whether any Thing like this would have happened for a private Concern.

not ſo free as he would fain have been, and was obliged to keep to general Terms, for he could not deſcend to Particulars, without diſcovering the Connexion between theſe Ravages and RAPIN's Death, which was the Cauſe of them as well as the Thing that juſtified them *. But what he ſlightly mentions only, *Thuanus* and *Mezerai* relate more at large, and ſet in a true light. *Mezerai*, who gives a particular Account of Matters, and tells us that there were then in *Tholouſe* eight Thouſand regular Troops, which added to the great Number of Inhabitants, took from the *Reformed* all Hopes of becoming Maſters of the City, ſays expreſsly that the *Hugonots* ——*ſet Fire to all the Lands and Houſes of the Counſellors, on the Ruins whereof the Soldiers writ with the ſmoaking Coals*, RAPIN'S REVENGE.

Peter de Rapin, Baron of *Mauvers*, Son of *Philibert*, was Governour of *Mas-Granier* one of the Cautionary-Towns granted to the *Reformed* in *Guienne*. He was a Soldier from his Youth, and attended King *Henry* IV in all his Expeditions. For the moſt Part of that Time, he received not a Penny of his Income, which threw him into great Straits, as was the Caſe of many others on the ſame Account. The King himſelf was in no better Circumſtances, as may be inferred from his Anſwer to Mr. DE RAPIN; who having loſt his Horſe, beſought his Majeſty to give him where-withal to get another: *I would*, ſays he, *with all my Heart*; *but ſee, I have ſcarce a Shirt to my Back*. But Mr. DE RAPIN's Sufferings in the Religious Wars was not confined to what paſſed in the Army. He ſaw his Houſe burnt and battered down thrice in his Life, and all his Things plundered.

* Incenſis oppidanorum et ſenatorum, præcipuè circa urbem, prædijs, quòd eos à publicâ quiete maximè omnium abhorrere dicerent Proteſtantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos obverſante *Rapini*, ante biennium à Rege et Condæo ut Edicti pacificatorii promulgationem urgeret, in urbem miſſi, et immani perfidiâ ignominioſo ſupplicio affecti, memoriâ; cujus indignam necem illi, inauditis et jure belli inconceſſis vaſtationibus, ultum iri teſtabantur. *Thuanus*. lib. 42.

ed. It is true, he had Amends made him the laſt Time, as far as was poſſible, and in a Manner which muſt have been very agreeable to him: For the Catholick Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood, who had a great Value and Friendſhip for him, meeting together, reſolved to ſupply, each Man his Share, what was wanted to till and ſow his Lands; and as thoſe Troubles laſted but Eight Months, when they were over, he found a Crop ready, and all his Eſtate, excepting his Houſe, in as good Condition as the moſt diligent Owner could have kept it. On another Occaſion, he had a Satisfaction without the leaſt Tincture of Bitter in it; which was that a Report being ſpread of his Death, he read himſelf a Letter to his Family from Queen *Mary de Medicis*, expreſſing her great Sorrow for it. He married a Daughter of Mr. *de Lupé*, Lord of *Maravat*, Captain of 50 *Men of Arms*, Governour of *Mauvezin* a Cautionary-Town, and a Major-General.

He left a numerous Iſſue, of whom his ſecond Son *James, Sieur de Thoyras* * was the Father's and Mother's Darling. His Father left him more than any of the other younger Children, and his Mother gave him over and above his Share with the reſt, that Portion of the Eſtate of *John de la Ferriere*, Vidame *1 of *Chatres*, and one of the Heads of the *French-Proteſtants*, which fell to her in Right of her Mother. He was deſigned for a Soldier, like his Brothers; but his Mother willing he ſhould be near her, was for having him bred a Scholar, to which the Father conſented. After he had gone through a Courſe of Study, he was admitted Advocate in *the Court of the Edict* *2 at *Caſtres*, and, contrary to the Cuſtom of the Country, where Perſons nobly deſcended are never of that Profeſſion, he exerciſed the

* The Name of a Village belonging to his Family.

*1 *i. e.* Judge of the Biſhop's Temporal Juriſdiction.

*2 *Les Chambres de l'Edit* were Courts of Judicature erected in ſeveral Towns, in behalf of the *Hugonots*, the Judges being half *Reformed* and half *Catholicks*.

Functions thereof as well at *Caſtres* as at *Caſtelnaudary* and *Tholouſe* above Fifty Years, and that is as long as he lived. It is true, I include the Four Years he ſpent at *Paris*, whither he went upon News of Mr. *Pelliſſon* his Brother-in-Law's being arreſted with Mr. *Fouquet*. Nothing paſſed in that famous Affair, but what he was privy too, and he was very ſerviceable in many Reſpects. He was one of the Three who were concerned in the *Factum*, and ſupplied all we find there relating to the *Roman Law*. I ſaw in *France* a Letter to him from Mr. *Fouquet* when in the *Baſtile*, thanking him for it in the moſt affectionate manner. All that knew him, of whom ſeveral are now living, always give him the Character of one of the Prime *Advocates* of his Time, and aſſure us that few equalled him in Impartiality and Integrity. His Wife who died at *Geneva*, where ſhe was ſent by the King's Order, *for refuſing to turn Papiſt*, was Siſter of *George* and *Paul Pelliſſon*, whoſe Memory is ſtill freſh. Her Father and Grandfather were Counſellors to the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, and in the Court of the Edict at *Caſtres*. *Raymond Pelliſſon* her Great-Grand-Father, after having been *Maſter of the Requeſts*, and Ambaſſador to *Portugal*, was at laſt firſt Preſident of the Senate of *Chamberi*, and Deputy-Governour in *Savoy*, whilſt in Poſſeſſion of the *French*. I ſay nothing of a very extraordinary Thing that happened to him, and of which ſeveral Authors * ſpeak very largely; nor of his Deſcendants abovenamed, becauſe I ſhould only copy what is to be found in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary printed at *Amſterdam* in 1716. This Family, from whence ſprang ſeveral illuſtrious Perſons *1, is originally *Engliſh* *2, and comes from an Attorney-Geral to the Prince of *Wales* when in *Guienne*.

I pro-

* *Recueil d'Arrêts*, de *Papon*, Liv. 19. Art. 9. *Hiſtoires Admirables* de *Simon Goulart*, Tom. I. *p.* 6.

*1 See *Recherche des Antiquitez de la Langue Franſoiſe, ou Dictionaire Gaulois*, By *Borel*.

*2 *Borel* in the ſame Place, p. 377.

I proceed now to Mr. DE RAPIN, who is properly the Subject of my Letter. PAUL DE RAPIN, Sieur *de Thoyras* younger Son of *James*, was born at *Caſtres* * *March* 25th 1661. He began to ſtudy the *Latin* Tongue under a Tutor his Father kept in the Houſe, after which he was ſent to *Puylaurens*, and from thence to *Saumur*. At this laſt Place, when about Seventeen Years Old, he and one of his Friends falling out about a Trifle, they immediately appointed a Place to meet and fight. But whether it was a good while before they could get their Swords, for being *Students* they commonly wore none, or the Duel held long, Night came whilſt they were at it; and then Mr. DE RAPIN's Sword broke near the Hilt without his knowing of it. His Adverſary perceiving it firſt, generouſly told him of it. Whereupon they gave over, and embracing each other returned back together to Town. Some Time after he had another Quarrel with a Perſon much Older than himſelf, who rudely puſhed him as he was walking in a narrow rugged Paſſage. Mr. DE RAPIN fell upon him, but Company being by, they were quickly parted. He ran and fetched his Sword, and returned to the Place, but the Bird was flown; neither could he meet with him though he carefully ſought him ſeveral Days. Some Time after, he heard the Man was gone to *Paris*, whither Mr. DE RAPIN followed him. He was no ſooner arrived but he was taken up by a Guard of the Marſhals of *France*. This Accident which he did not expect, imagining his Deſign was unknown as he had not imparted it to any Body, was occaſioned by the Advice Mr. *Pelliſſon* his Unkle received even from *Saumur*, from whence ſome Body ſent him Word what was thought of his Nephew's Journey, which might be of ill Conſequence, telling him withal where he might be heard of. Mr. *Pelliſſon* fearing a Duel would follow, which however it ended would

* In *Languedoc*.

ruin his Nephew, acquainted the Marſhals of *France* with the Matter; Mr. DE RAPIN being yet very young, having afforded them Opportunity to ſecure him by going directly to his Unkles. The Marſhals having heard both Parties, condemned the Aggreſſor to lie in Priſon at *Fort-l'Evêque*, till Mr. DE RAPIN ſhould conſent to his Diſcharge, which he did about a Month after at the Deſire of the Prince of *Furſtemburg* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, who was then at *Paris*. Mean while, the very next Day after the Sentence, the Priſoner's Brother, who was reckoned a good Sword's-man, meeting Mr. DE RAPIN in the Street, accoſted him, and talking to him as if he had a Mind to renew the Quarrel, Mr. DE RAPIN anſwered him by drawing his Sword, and wounded him before any Body came to part them: But this Rencounter was kept ſecret by the Advice of the Friends of both Parties, for fear the Marſhals ſhould be angry.

In the Beginning of the Year 1679 Mr. DE RAPIN returned to his Father, in order to apply himſelf cloſely to the Study of the Law. But before he had made any Progreſs, he was obliged with many other young Gentlemen to commence *Advocate*, upon Notice of an *Edict* which was publiſhed ſoon after, that no Man ſhould take a *Doctor's Degree* unleſs he had ſtudied Five Years in ſome *Univerſity*.

This ſame Year, the *Courts of the Edict* were ſuppreſſed, by which Mr. DE RAPIN's Family were forced to remove to *Tholouſe*. Not long after, Mr. DE RAPIN perceiving the ill State of the *Reformed*, and that, in all likelihood, their Condition would daily grow worſe, deſired his Father's Conſent to quit the Profeſſion of *Advocate* for that of Arms. His Father without abſolutely denying his Requeſt, returned ſuch an Anſwer as only ſerved to put the Thing off. Not that the Requeſt ſeemed to him unreaſonable or ill grounded: But he was apprehenſive this new way of Life, where Ambition fires a Man more than in any other, would expoſe his Son

to

to great Temptation, when he ſhould ſee by what happened every Day, that it would not be poſſible for him to riſe to any tolerable Poſt as long as he adhered to his Religion; whereas that Obſtacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the reſt. The State of Uncertainty he was in, made him very remiſs in the Study of the Law. He pleaded however a Cauſe as *Advocate*; but he went no farther, and applied himſelf more cloſe than ever, to the reading of good Authors, to the *Mathematicks*, and to *Muſick*, in which he acquired great Skill.

In the Year 1685 his Father died, and Two Months after the *Edict* of *Nantz* was revoked. Upon which Mr. DE RAPIN retired into the Country with his Mother and Brothers. But as the Perſecution ſhortly after was at the Height, he departed with his youngeſt Brother and came with him into *England*, in the Month of *March* 1686.

Not long after, arrived at *London* a *French* Abbot of Quality, and Friend to Mr. *Pelliſſon*, who made Mr. DE RAPIN frequent Viſits, and introduced him to Mr. *de Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, from whom Mr. DE RAPIN received a great many Civilities. Theſe Gentlemen would fain have perſwaded him to go and wait upon the King, aſſuring him of a gracious Reception. Mr. DE RAPIN, who could not ſee any Pretenſions he had to ſuch an Honour; and beſides, was apprehenſive that a Propoſal ſeemingly ſo Advantagious might tend to his Prejudice, excuſed himſelf in the handſomeſt manner he could. This Buſineſs put him upon ſeriouſly reflecting on the State he was in; continually teazed about his Religion, ſometimes by the Marqueſs of *Seiſſac* and other *French Catholicks* then at *London*, but eſpecially by the Abbot, who, tho' he was extremely Courteous and Civil, always turned the Converſation to controverted Points. Perceiving therefore that it was not poſſible for him to maintain his Ground, eſpecially *ex tempore* againſt a Man who had all the Arguments at command, and managed them with great

Art, he reſolved to return into the Country, from whence he was come to viſit the Abbot, without ſo much as taking his Leave of him. He knew he was guilty of ill Manners; but he choſe to be ſo, rather than remain any longer expoſed as he was.

As he had no Proſpect then in *England*, he made no long Stay there, but going over to *Holland*, where he had ſome Relations, he liſted himſelf in a Company of *French* Voluntiers at *Utrecht*, commanded by Mr. *de Rapin* his Couſin German.

The ſame Year, Mr *Pelliſſon* publiſhed his *Reflections on Religious Differences*, and ſent them to Mr. DE RAPIN, charging him to let him know his Opinion of them; which he did, and pretty largely, as he ſaid himſelf, retorting, in ſeveral Places, Mr. *Pelliſſon*'s Expreſſions: But nothing of this is to be found among his Papers. Not that I think it either loſt or miſlaid; but rather believe that out of Self-Diffidence he never took a Copy, in an Opinion that what he could ſay on ſuch a Subject was not worth preſerving.

He was ſtill in the Company of *Voluntiers* when they went into *England* with the Prince of *Orange*. But in 1689, the Lord *Kingſton* gave him an Enſign's Commiſſion in the firſt Company of his Regiment, with which he went over to *Ireland*. At the Siege of *Carrickfergus*, juſt after his Arrival, he had the good Fortune to gain the Eſteem of the Officers of the Regiment, and eſpecially of Lieutenaut-Colonel *Fielding*, who, in leſs than a Year, helped him to a Lieutenancy.

This was a very ſevere Campaign, for the Army was ill provided with Neceſſaries, at leaſt with reſpect to the Conveniencies of Life. This gave Occaſion to a Scene which Mr. DE RAPIN was wont to remember with Pleaſure. He was one Evening with ſome of his Comrades, who agreed upon having a very notable Drinking-Bout. A Major paſſing by, one of thoſe whom nothing touches ſo nearly as the want of a Bottle, and hearing them laughing and merrily

merrily toaſting Healths, came into the Tent, and told them he was come to partake of their Mirth. He was received with a loud Huzza, and aſſured by the Company of a hearty Welcome to what they had. All this while he kept his Eyes upon a large Bowl full of Liquor which they ſat round, with each Man a Glaſs or Cup in his Hand. But he quickly found it was mere Element; which made him bruſh off very abruptly, amazed that Water-Drinkers could be ſo merry, and not a little mortified at his having ſupplied the young Sparks with freſh Matter for Laughter.

In the Beginning of 1690, the Regiment which Mr. DE RAPIN belonged to, was given to Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, who, upon the Recommendation of Three *French* Colonels of the Army, took more Notice of him than of the reſt of the Subalterns, and afterwards put very great Truſt in him. After the Battle of the *Boyne*, in which Mr. DE RAPIN was preſent, General *Douglas* was detached with his own, and Twelve other Regiments Horſe and Foot, to go and make a Diverſion about *Athlone*, and if poſſible to ſeize the Town. He appointed Mr. DE RAPIN and Mr. *Carlis* now Lieutenant-General in *Portugal*, to do the Office of Quarter-Maſter-General of his little Army. This Siege not proving ſucceſsful, the Town being ſtrongly garriſoned, General *Douglas* was recalled. Mr. DE RAPIN, who was ſent before to receive Orders, coming to the Head of the *Line*, met the King there; who ſtopping him, asked ſeveral Queſtions, to which Mr. DE RAPIN made ſuch Anſwers as ſerved to remove ſome ill Impreſſions infuſed into his Majeſty concerning *Douglas*'s Conduct. At the Aſſault of *Limerick*, he was ſhot in the Shoulder, and next Day the Siege was raiſed, ſo that he was forced to ride Four Miles on Horſeback in great Anguiſh. He was carried off with the reſt of the wounded Men, among whom was his Brother, who was ſhot through the Body. Thus he loſt his Regiment which

was ordered to the North. But not long after, he heard General *Douglas* had procured him a *Company*, and got him to be admitted in his abſence. It was the ſame *Company* where he had been *Enſign*, and where was ſtill the ſame Lieutenant which made Mr. DE RAPIN extremely uneaſy.

The next Year, General *Douglas* had Orders to go to *Flanders*. Mr. DE RAPIN whom he deſigned for his *Aid de Camp*, not being in a Condition to follow him [by reaſon of his Wound] adviſed him to take another, whom the General ſoon made a Captain in the *Scotch* Guards, whereof he was himſelf become Colonel. The Campaign opened in *Ireland* with the taking of *Baltimore*, where Mr. DE RAPIN had the Satisfaction to do a Kindneſs to a poor diſtreſſed Family in Priſon, with whom he had got Acquaintance the Year before. He was afterwards at the Siege of *Athlone*, and at the Aſſault which was made through the River that runs under the ſtrongeſt Rampart of the Town, a very bold Action which ſucceeded, as it is thought, contrary to the Expectation of the General-Officers. In this Town were left Two Regiments of different Nations, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonels who underſtood not each other's Language, and who were both very Jealous of their Rights, which might have occaſioned many Diſputes. Luckily, Mr. DE RAPIN happened to belong to one, and an intimate Friend of his, a Captain of good Senſe, to the other, who were both equally eſteemed by their reſpective Commanders; ſo that whenever any Accident fell out, that was like to breed a Quarrel, theſe Two Officers, who were biaſſed by no Paſſion, agreed betwixt them what was to be done, and gave their Advice accordingly, and always with good Succeſs.

After that, Mr. DE RAPIN was ſent ſucceſſively to ſeveral Garriſons, and amongſt the reſt to *Kilkenny*, where he frequently waited on the Biſhop, who ſeemed pleaſed with his Converſation. This Acquaintance

tance would have been very agreeable to him, could he have enjoyed it peaceably: The ſharp Conteſts, which daily broke out between the Mayor and the Officers, ſcarce allowed him a Moment's Quiet. He often ſpent his Time in ſtifling them, and was a great Means to hinder them from proceeding to Extremities. Mean while, the Fear he was under that Matters might at laſt be brought to ſuch a Pitch that there would be no Remedy, made him gladly embrace the Opportunity of going to command Two *Companies* in another Place. Some Time after he joined his Regiment again at *Kingſale*, where he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with Sir *James Waller* who commanded there.

About the End of the Year 1693 he received an Order to come to *England*, without being told the Reaſon; but at the ſame Time, a Letter from Mr. *Belcaſtel* informed him, that he was to be Governour to the Earl of *Portland*'s Son, who was afterwards created a Duke. He could not conceive how it came about, having never dreamt of any ſuch Thing: And it was ſome Time firſt before he came to know that he had been recommended by the Lord *Galloway*. He repaired therefore to *London* and entered upon his Office. Here was an End of all his Hopes of riſing in the Army to ſuch Poſts as ſeveral of his Friends, who were not ſo forward as he, attained to. All the Amends he received, was Leave to reſign his Company to his Brother, who died in 1719, having been Lieutenant-Colonel in a Regiment of *Engliſh* Dragoons. It is true indeed, ſome Time after the King granted him a Penſion of a Hundred Pounds a Year *till he ſhould better provide for him*, which never happened. So he enjoyed his Penſion ſeveral Years; but after that Prince's Death it ceaſed, and inſtead of it he had a Place given him, which brought him in but a moderate Income.

His new Employment of Governour obliged him to go very often to *Holland*, and back again to *England*,

land, and alſo to *France*, whilſt the Earl of *Portland* was Ambaſſador there, till ſuch Time as the young Lord fixed himſelf at the *Hague*, where he learned his *Exerciſes*. During which Time, that is, in the Year 1699, Mr. DE RAPIN married *Mariamne Toſtart*, a good Match, of whom I ſhall ſay nothing as ſhe is living. This did not hinder him from minding his Pupil, and attending him in his Travels. He began with *Germany*, where they made ſome Stay at ſeveral Courts, and particularly at *Vienna*. From thence they paſſed into *Italy*, by Way of *Tyrol*, where they ſaw Marſhal *Villeroy* there a Priſoner, who gave Mr. DE RAPIN a Letter for Cardinal *d' Etrées* who was at *Venice*.

At his Return, his Employment being at an End, he went back to his Family, who in his Abſence lived at the *Hague*, where he ſpent ſome Years. All that while he made good uſe of his leiſure Hours as far as the common Duties of Life would allow, in reſuming the Study of *the Art of Fortification*, and above all of *Hiſtory*, which put him upon drawing up abundance of *Genealogical* and *Chronological Tables*; as well General as Particular. But what was moſt agreeable to him, and as he thought, equally inſtructive, was his being a Member of a Society or Club ſtill in Being, to the erecting of which he was proud of having contributed, where ſeveral Perſons of Learning and Merit reaſoned upon ſuch Subjects as occurred, and ſpoke their Thoughts on ſuch Queſtions as were uſually propoſed. Nevertheleſs, as he found his Family increaſing, he reſolved to ſacrifice to the Good of his Children the Pleaſures he enjoyed at the *Hague*, by retiring to a cheaper Country. Accordingly he removed to *Wezel* in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, in the Year 1707. He found here a good Number of *French Refugees*, among whom were ſeveral Officers, Men of Quality, with whom he lived in a friendly Manner; and he was alſo received as kindly as could be expected, by Perſons of the higheſt Rank, who were chiefly concerned in the Go-

vernment of the Country, and who, on all Occaſions, gave him Marks of their Favour.

The way of living at *Wezel*, different in many reſpects from that at the *Hague*, made him more Maſter of his Time than ever he had been, and allowed him almoſt as much Leiſure as he could deſire, to ſtudy the Hiſtory of *England*, and the Nature of the Government. This was a more extenſive Deſign than perhaps it ſeems to be at firſt; for it led him, not only to peruſe all the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, but thoſe of other Nations too, who had any Thing in Common, or any Conteſts with the *Engliſh*, in order to get Information, and come to the Truth of the Facts by comparing them together. He would have found it a difficult Task to ſucceed, or rather he would probably have never accompliſhed his Deſign, had he not before qualified himſelf for reading in their original Tongue all the Books he was obliged to conſult. But beſides *Greek* and *Latin*, which he learnt at the College, and had ſince improved, he underſtood *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, not to mention *High* and *Low-Dutch*, of which indeed he was not ſo much Maſter as of the reſt. As for *Engliſh*, which was the moſt neceſſary of all, he had made that his particular Study.

About this time, he was one Day at the Count *de Lottum*'s, Velde-Marſhal of *Pruſſia*, Governour of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, where, in talking of the Affairs of *England*, a good deal was ſaid about *Whigs* and *Tories*. Mr. DE RAPIN thought their Diſcourſe ſhowed, they had not a true Notion of theſe two Factions. Wherefore he reſolved to digeſt into order the Remarks he had made on that Subject. And this was his *Diſſertation on the Whigs and Tories* *. This Treatiſe perhaps would never have been publiſhed, had it not happened to be ſhown to Sir *Andrew Fountain* (late Vice-Chamberlain to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, now Queen of *England*)

* It will be printed at the End of the XIVth Volume.

land) who having long expreſſed great Kindneſs and Friendſhip for Mr. DE RAPIN, ſpent ſome Days with him at *Wezel*. Sir *Andrew*, who is a very curious polite Gentleman, thought this Diſſertation deſerved to be made publick, and brought it himſelf to the *Hague*, in order to have it printed, which was accordingly done in the Year 1717.

I ſhould now ſpeak of *the Hiſtory of England*, which was Mr. DE RAPIN's main Employment: but he acquaints us himſelf how he came to be engaged in this Work, the little Satisfaction he found in it, and by what means he was encouraged not only to purſue it, but even to form a more extenſive Plan than what he at firſt deſigned. All I ſhall add relates to this unexpected Help, I mean, *the Collection of the Publick Acts of* England. I ſhan't ſtay to remark that in order to make the beſt Uſe of theſe *Acts*, he was obliged to peruſe and examine Seventeen Volumes *in Folio*, a long and tedious Work; and what chiefly deſerves notice is, that Mr. DE RAPIN's Extracts from thence are of great Moment to the Hiſtory of *England*. This no doubt will be allowed, if it is conſidered that *the Collection* itſelf [being printed at the Charge of the Government] was not expoſed to Sale, and conſequently hard to come at. But I verily believe, were it as common as it is ſcarce, the Extracts would not ceaſe to be uſeful, not only becauſe they contain within a moderate Compaſs whatever is remarkable in ſo voluminous a Work, but chiefly by reaſon ſuch Books are ſeldom or never conſulted, but on ſome particular Account, and ſo much time and pains are required to find what lies diſperſed in ſo many Volumes: whereas it preſently occurs in theſe Extracts where the ſame Matters are ranged under proper Heads. Theſe Extracts were printed all together in *Quarto* and in *Octavo*, at the Charge of the famous Mr. *Fagel*, Regiſter to the *States-General*, who gave away all the Copies.

I don't know that Mr. DE RAPIN has writ any thing beſides what has been mentioned, except ſome Remarks on ſeveral Hiſtories. Tho'

Though he was of a very ſtrong Conſtitution, yet Seventeen Years intenſe and conſtant Application to the compoſing his Hiſtory, entirely deſtroyed his Health. About three Years before he died he found himſelf quite ſpent, and frequently ſeized with violent Pains in his Stomach. He might have recovered if he would have given over his Work, and unbent his Mind for a time. This he was convinced of, but could not prevail with himſelf to do as he ought. All the Indulgence he allowed himſelf was, not to riſe before Six a-Clock, after which it was impoſſible for him to ſleep or lie in his Bed. As to his Diverſions, whereof walking was the chiefeſt, he was quickly tired with them; and if his Indiſpoſition permitted him he returned to his Work, which was the Cauſe of his Illneſs, and properly the only thing he delighted in. At laſt, a violent Fever, attended with an Oppreſſion upon his Lungs, carried him off the Seventh Day being the 16th of *May* 1725.

He left one Son and Six Daughters.

From what has been ſaid, it appears that Mr. DE RAPIN was naturally grave and ſerious. This led him, whilſt he was in the Service, to ſeek the Converſation of ſuch as loved to reaſon, which drew on him the Ill-will of ſeveral of his Comrades, and of ſome of his Superiours too, who would have had him partake of all their Diverſions. But on the other Hand, it gained him the Eſteem and Friendſhip of many Perſons of Merit, who filled very conſiderable Poſts. We are not however to imagine that he was an Enemy to Mirth: he could be merry on occaſion, though not ſo frequently nor to that Exceſs as many Men are. Nay he writ ſeveral little Things in Proſe and Verſe, with a good deal of Humour and Gaiety: but as they were on comick or ludicrous Subjects, and deſigned only for a few Moments Diverſion with his Friends, he never thought them worth reviſing, and I queſtion whether there is ſo much as one to be found among his Papers. What has been ſaid of his Application to Study, and to his Works, is ſo to be

un-

underſtood, as that it never hindered him from laying every Thing aſide, when an Opportunity offered to do any body a Kindneſs, or to interpoſe in the Quarrels of his Friends and Acquaintance, though it ſometimes took up much of his Time.

Thus have I done all I could, to make known Mr. DE RAPIN's Character. I am very ſenſible that to know it thoroughly, we muſt, beſides what I have ſaid, conſider him in his Writings; but this is what I ſhall not undertake. It is the Buſineſs of the Publick to declare what Opinion he there gives of himſelf, and to determine whether he ſhows any Signs of good Senſe, whether he diſcovers any Judgment in his manner of finding out the Springs of the Actions he relates, and above all, whether he has been juſt enough to obſerve a perfect Impartiality ſo eſſential to a good Hiſtory.

This laſt Point would ſoon be decided againſt Mr. DE RAPIN, if a Charge which has been thought fit to be laid againſt him, was received upon Truſt. I intend not to be his Apologiſt; nevertheleſs, as this is the only Objection againſt him that is come to my Knowledge, I ſhall ſtay a Moment and juſt touch upon the Affair which Mr. DE RAPIN has given a full Account of. I know no more of the Charge than what I read in the *Journal des Savans*, for the Month of *June* 1726, publiſhed at *Amſterdam*, where I found what follows.

Mr. JEBB ------- *has lately publiſhed a Collection of Papers for and againſt* MARY *Queen of* SCOTS----- *In the Preface he takes up the late Mr.* de Rapin Thoyras *for unfaithfully accuſing of Forgery the Proteſtation of the Earls of* Argyle *and* Huntley, *who charged the Earl of* Murray *with having a Hand in the Conſpiracy for the Murder of* Henry *King of* Scotland *Husband to Queen* Mary Stuart, *though this Proteſtation*, ſays he, *was given in to Queen* Elizabeth's *Commiſſioners at* York, *and owned by the Earl of* Murray, *and the reſt of the* Scotch *Deputies.*

To

To this I anſwer, firſt, that till Mr. *Jebb* has produced good Vouchers for what he aſſerts, which is not yet done, it will be maintained that this Declaration, far from being produced at *York*, was not ſo much as mentioned. This is ſufficient to overthrow entirely what this Author pretends to. But to ſhow more plainly how groundleſs his Aſſertion is, and that he may not have the leaſt Pretext to ſay that there is a trivial Miſtake in the Name, but that the Thing is true in the main, I am willing to go farther than he does. He ſays nothing of a ſecond Conference held at *Hampton-Court* ſome time after that of *York*; and I affirm, that neither in this was there any Mention of the Proteſtation. It is true, *Camden*, ſpeaking of this ſecond Conference, ſays, *The Queen* [*of* Scots] *aſſerted that it could be proved that the Earl of* Murray *was the chief Contriver of the King's Death.* I might make ſeveral Remarks on this Paſſage, but I forbear, becauſe they relate to the Hiſtory, contenting my ſelf with this ſingle deciſive Obſervation, That in all that paſſed at *Hampton-Court*, whatever we are to think of the reſt, there was no Mention of the Proteſtation of the two Earls, which however is the only Thing Mr. *Jebb* would fain advance here as Matter of Fact. Let any Man judge after this, how a *Proteſtation* which was ſo far from being given in, that it was not ſo much as cited, can poſſibly have been owned by the Earl of *Murray* and the other *Scotch* Commiſſioners; and he will grant that Mr. *Jebb* has been telling us a Dream, which was ſo pleaſing to the Dreamer, that when he awoke he heartily wiſhed it true, though there is not any Proof or Footſtep of it whatever. Thus it is that this Author has convicted Mr. DE RAPIN of *Unfaithfulneſs*. One would think ſuch a Charge ſhould be ſupported with undeniable Proofs: but Mr. *Jebb* did not take that for a Rule, but imagined he ſhould be believed provided he ſpoke in a bold and groſs Manner. It is not poſſible to ſay any thing of the other Miſtakes he pretends to have met with in the new *Hiſtory of England*,

England, becauſe he mentions none in particular. After all, he is very free not to approve of this Work. What he adds, that the Generality of the Learned in *England* are little pleaſed with it, would be of much worſe Conſequence, were it certain; for in that Caſe the Hiſtory would neceſſarily fall to the Ground very ſoon. But beſides that many of them have expreſſed their Approbation of it, there is room to believe that the Number of thoſe who diſlike it is not near ſo great as Mr. *Jebb* would fain make us believe. If it be true, as we are aſſured that by *the Learned in England* he means thoſe who like himſelf look upon Dr. *Atterbury* the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* as their Heroe; theſe Men no doubt will much better find their Account in the Edition of *the new Hiſtory of* England lately publiſhed at *Trevoux* (though the Title Page ſays *By A. Rogiſſart at the Hague*) in which care has been taken to alter and leave out abundance of things which might have diſpleaſed them.

I have only one word more to add. As the following Volumes [containing the Hiſtory of *England* from the Death of King *Charles* I, to the Coronation of King *William*] did not come out till ſome time after Mr. DE RAPIN'S Death, it may perhaps be imagined by ſome that they are none of his. To remove all ſuch Thoughts, I need only ſay, that Mr. DE RAPIN'S Family offers to ſhow the Manuſcript under his own Hand. However neceſſary this may be to take away all Doubt at the Entrance, I am perſuaded that when theſe laſt Volumes are read over, the Reader will be fully convinced that they came from the ſame Hand which penned the Former.

This is all I have to ſay to you concerning Mr. DE RAPIN. I wiſh it may be ſatisfactory.

I am, &c.

THE

The HISTORY of the *INTERREGNUM* from the Death of CHARLES I. to the Reſtoration of CHARLES II.

BOOK XXII.

The HISTOY *of the* INTERREGNUM *is divided into Three principal Parts. The Firſt contains what paſſed whilſt* ENGLAND *was reduced to a pure* DEMOCRACY. *The Second, what happened during the Protectorſhip of* OLIVER *and* RICHARD CROMWELL. *The Third, what paſſed from the* Deprivation *of* RICHARD CROMWELL *to the* RESTORATION *of* CHARLES II.

PART I.

The COMMON-WEALTH of ENGLAND.

TO underſtand fully the Revolutions which happened in *England* after the Death of *Charles* I, we are neceſſarily to remember ſome material Things which have already appeared in the preceding Reign, and of which it will be of Service to the Reader to find here a ſhort Recapitulation. 1649

1649. *A Recapitulation of some important Matters.*

First, The Parliament actually ſitting conſiſted properly only of a Houſe of Commons, who refuſed to acknowledge the Negative Voice of the Houſe of Peers. This they had manifeſtly ſhowed in erecting a Court of Juſtice to judge the King without the Concurrence of the Lords, whoſe Conſent was voted unneceſſary.

Secondly, This Houſe of Commons conſiſted of a ſmall Number of Members, all *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts* or other *Sectaries*. All the Presbyterian Members who ſate in the Houſe the 6th of *December* were expelled by the Army, and thoſe who were abſent, and of different Principles from the *Independents*, durſt not reſume their Places. If ever there was an uſurped Government, it was that of this Parliament, mutilated, and founded only in Violence, and unſupported by any other Protection than that of the Army. For although the Houſe of Commons pretended to repreſent the People of *England*, it is nevertheleſs very certain that the Nation afforded very few Perſons, who were eaſy to ſee the Sovereign Power lodged in the Hands of ſuch Repreſentatives.

Thirdly, The *Independents*, of which this Houſe was principally compoſed, were diſtinguiſhed by two Principles, one relating to the *Civil*, the other to the *Eccleſiaſtical* Government. By the firſt they aſſerted, That the *Republican* Government was not only the moſt perfect; but farther, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for *England*, harraſſed with ſo many Oppreſſions from its Kings, who had changed the Government into a real Tyranny. With regard to *Religion*, though they gave themſelves the Appellation of Proteſtants, their Principles was that every Church was independent, and might take ſuch a Form of Government as ſuited its Intereſt or Inclinations. Their Notions concerning the Vocation of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, were likewiſe very ſingular, as they believed that, without any other *Call*, every Man was at liberty to exerciſe the Function

ctions of the Miniſtry, and exert in it the Talents and Abilities which God had given him. The other Sectaries, who had joined the *Independents* becauſe they found in that Party a full Toleration, were united with them in the firſt of theſe Principles, and declared for a *Republican* Government. But with regard to Religion there were ſome Differences, which the *Independents* the leſs regarded, as they were intent upon increaſing the Number of their Adherents; and beſides this, believed that in the Caſe of Religion a Toleration was abſolutely neceſſary. 1649.

Fourthly, There was ſtill in the Army a Remnant of *Levellers*, who ſtill adhered to their Principle, and were always ready for any Attempt which might recover their Credit and Authority. It is true that *Cromwell*, after having himſelf raiſed this Faction, had in ſome meaſure diſperſed it; but it was not entirely deſtroyed. An able Leader would ſtill have made it as formidable, and given as much Uneaſineſs as in any time before.

Fifthly, It was not without the laſt Vexation that the *Presbyterians* ſaw the *Independents* in poſſeſſion of Sovereign Power. By this all their Meaſures were broken: The Progreſs of eight Year's Succeſs came to nothing, and the Storm which they had raiſed againſt the King was poured upon their own Heads, or at leaſt it was apparent that they had all this while been labouring for others without any thing done for themſelves. For indeed the *Independents* were equally Enemies to *Presbyterian* and *Epiſcopal* Government. As to *Civil* Government, it is certain that the *Presbyterians* were not averſe to Kingly Authority in general. If they had attempted to retrench its Power, this was not from a belief that the Thing was Evil in itſelf as it was eſtabliſhed by the Laws of *England*, but becauſe the two laſt Kings had made uſe of their Power to deſtroy *Presbyterianiſm*. So that whatever they had done againſt King *Charles* I. was not pointed ſo much againſt his Au-

1649. thority as his Perſon, becauſe he was looked upon as their Enemy, and they had no hopes of ever being in a Capacity to eſtabliſh a *Presbyterian* Government in the Church, while he ſhould have any Power to prevent it. It is nevertheleſs very likely that Numbers of them would have complied with a *Republican* Government, in ſpight of the Tenour of the *Covenant*, had that Government not been lodged in the Hands of *Independents*, who were by no Means inclined to ſupport *Presbyterianiſm*, and had Principles of Toleration which were entirely rejected by the *Presbyterians*. On this Account an Union between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* was morally impoſſible.

Sixthly, The *Royaliſts*, equally Enemies of both, could unite with neither of the Parties, conſidering the Oppoſition there was between their Principles. The *Independents* were for a Common-wealth, with which the *Royaliſts* could not comply. On the other ſide the *Presbyterians* were for maintaining their Government in the Church; and the greateſt Part of the *Royaliſts*, as they had no Biſhops, could hardly believe that the *Presbyterians* were any Part of the true Chriſtian Church. Thus the *Royaliſts*, though perſecuted by both Parties, yet were far from joining themſelves to either. On the contrary they conceived ſome Hopes, that the Diviſion amongſt their Enemies would, one Day, give them a good Opportunity to reſtore the Monarchy upon its old Foundation. In this expectation they fomented the Difference with all their Power, and hoped that the *Presbyterians* would at laſt be obliged to abandon their Projects, and come over to the Royal Party, to free themſelves from the Perſecution which they then laboured under.

Such were the Views and Intereſts of the Parties which divided the People of *England* immediately after the Death of *Charles* I. It is abſolutely neceſſary for the Reader to carry this in his Mind, to

to give him the clearer Comprehenſion of what paſſed in this *Interregnum*. 1649.

Upon the Death of the King, the Houſe of *Commons* immediately publiſhed an Act forbidding the proclaiming of *Charles Stuart* eldeſt Son of the late King, or any other Perſon whatever, under the Pain of High-Treaſon. Here was laid, as it were, the Foundation of the Common-wealth, which the *Independents* were aiming to erect in *England*. The ſame Day the Houſe of Lords demanded of the *Commons* a Conference, about ſettling the Government, and the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the Judges Commiſſions being determined with the Death of the King. The *Commons*, without any Notice taken of the Meſſage, voted the Houſe of Lords to be Uſeleſs and Dangerous, and therefore to be aboliſhed. A Priviledge was only left to the Lords to be elected Members of Parliament in common with other Subjects. This Priviledge was embraced by a few, * but the greater Part rejected it; nay, ſome there were that publiſhed a Proteſt againſt the Power which the Houſe of *Commons* aſſumed, to which that Houſe paid little regard. Thus this Parliament, which in its beginning was compoſed of a King, of an Upper-Houſe of about Six-ſcore Lords, and a Lower of five Hundred and thirteen Repreſentatives, ſaw itſelf reduced to a Houſe of *Commons* conſiſting of about Eighty Members, very few of which at the beginning of it had five Hundred Pounds yearly Income. Nevertheleſs theſe Members, ſo few in Number, aſſumed the Name of a Parliament, and acted as if in their Body had been united the Power, which had formerly reſided in the King, Lords and Commons. This might appear ſurpri-

An Act to forbid proclaiming the Son of the King. Baker, Clarend. &c.

The Houſe of Lords aboliſhed by the Commons. Clarend. Baker. p. 588.

Some Lords Proteſt, Baker, *ib.* Clarend. V. p. 262.

Clarend.

* The Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Edward Howard* ſigned the Engagement *to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth, as it was eſtabliſhed without a King or Houſe of Lords*, and took their Seats in Parliament by Virtue of an Election from the People. *Ludlow's Memoirs.* Vol. I. p. 293.

1649. ſing, if we had not ſeen the forgoing Tranſactions, and the Terrour which the Army had every where inſpired. The Care and Addreſs of *Cromwell* and his Aſſociates in the new Model of the Army, and the filling it with their own Creatures are thereby very viſible. Certainly nothing below an Army entirely *Independent* and *Republican* could have procured a Power ſo exceſſive and extraordinary to a Parliament ſo inconſiderable for its Number. But it is likewiſe to be acknowledged, that, of theſe New Governours, ſome were Men of a great Genius and uncommon Capacity, and that if they erred in their Principles, they never failed of Skill to purſue the Conſequences. Their main Principle was, that the Sovereign Authority reſided originally in the People, who had intruſted the King with one Part or Share of it, whom they had choſen to govern them according to the Laws. That the King's having abuſed this Truſt, had broken the primitive Contract between the King and the People; and in Conſequence of this Violation, the Contract ſubſiſting no longer, the Sovereign Power returned back to the People as the Proprietors of it. So conſidering themſelves as the Repreſentatives of the People, they believed, they had a right to change the Form of the Government, without any Notice taken of the primitive Contract which the King had annulled in his Violation thereof.

Principles of the Commons relating to Government.

In Conſequence of this Principle it was that the Houſe of *Commons*, aſſuming the Name of Parliament, voted, and afterwards enacted, that Monarchy ſhould be aboliſhed as unneceſſary, burdenſome and dangerous, and that the State ſhould be governed by the Repreſentatives of the People in a Houſe of *Commons* without King or Lords, and under the Form of a Common-wealth. This material Alteration in the Government produced many others in Things which had ſuited Monarchy, but were by no Means agreeable to a Common-wealth. The Oaths

They aboliſh the Monarchy. Baker. Clarend.

Divers Alterations. Baker. p. 588.

Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were to be abo- 1649.
liſhed *, Juſtice was no longer to be adminiſtred in the Name of the King *1, a new *Great-Seal* was to be made, new Money to be coined *2; in a Word, every Thing to be removed which bore any Characters or Marks of Royalty. A Great-Seal was therefore made, on one Side of which was ſeen the Parliament ſitting, with this Inſcription, *The Great-Seal of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England*; on the other Side a *Croſs* and a *Harp*, which are the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with theſe Words, *The firſt Year of Liberty reſtored by the Bleſſing of God* *3. This Seal was committed to a certain Number of Perſons, who were ſtiled *Keepers of the Liberties of England.* And it was ordained that for the future, all publick Orders ſhould be diſpatched in the Name of theſe Keepers, under the Direction of the Parliament *4. Laſtly, The Parliament made choice of Thirty-nine Perſons to form *a Council of State* for the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs under the Parliament. The Projects of theſe Changes were formed in the Month of *February*, but could not be fully executed till ſome Months afterwards.

A New Great-Seal made. Ludlow. Clarend. V. p. 262.

Council of State.

* Inſtead thereof a New Oath was prepared called the *Ingagement*, whereby every Man ſwore, *That he would be True and Faithful to the Government eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Peers.* Clarend. V. p. 260.

*1 The *Name*, *Stile* and *Teſt* of the *Writs* were to be, *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ, Authoritate Parliamenti.*

*2 The Money, inſtead of the King's Impreſſion, bore the *Croſs* and *Harp*, with this Motto, *God with us.*

*3 The Lord *Clarendon* and *Baker* ſay, on one Side was engraven the *Arms* of *England* and *Ireland*, viz. a *Red Croſs* and *Harp*, with this Inſcription, *The Great-Seal of England*; and on the other, the Portraiture of the Houſe of Commons circumſcribed, *In the Firſt Year of Freedom by God's Bleſſing reſtored*, 1648.

*4 *Widdrington* and *Whitlock* were firſt appointed Keepers of the new Great-Seal; but *Widdrington* deſiring to be excuſed, and his Excuſe being admitted, an Act paſſed appointing *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, *Richard Keeble*, and *John Liſle*, Lords Commiſſioners of the *Great-Seal, quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.* Whitlock, p. 374.

1649. *A New High-Court of Justice.* Bates. Baker. Clarend. V. p. 265.

In the beginning of *March* the Parliament erected a new High-Court of Juſtice to try ſome Perſons of Figure who were in their Hands; there being, it ſeems, no longer any Houſe of Lords. The Peers of the Kingdom had loſt their Priviledges under this new *Democracy*, and conſequently the impriſoned Lords might have been tryed by a Jury of Twelve in one of the Courts of Juſtice; but the Parliament without doubt was apprehenſive, that a Jury impannelled as uſual, would never find Perſons of ſo high Quality guilty of Death, for no other Crime but that of having ſupported the Cauſe of their Sovereign. The *Independent* Faction was too inconſiderable to aſſure themſelves of a Jury taken out of their own Body. Beſides, the Judges were not to be depended on, when it was conſidered that Six of them had refuſed to accept their Commiſſions from the new Common-wealth. But in erecting a Court of Juſtice, the Common-wealth could name ſuch Judges as would be obedient to its Orders.

Some Noble Priſoners brought before it.

Before this new Court (with *Bradſhaw* at the Head of it, as he was of that which condemned the King) were brought the *Duke* of *Hamilton*, the *Earl* of *Holland*, the *Lord Goring*, lately created *Earl* of *Norwich*, the *Lord Capel* and *Sir John Owen*, all for the ſame Crime; namely, for having appeared in Arms againſt the Parliament. When the King had thoughts in the beginning of the Civil Wars to put to Death the Priſoners taken at *Edge-hill* and *Colebrook*, the Parliament not allowing the Juſtice of putting Priſoners of War to Death, for a Crime of the ſame Nature, declared that they would inflict the ſame Puniſhment on their Priſoners, if the Condemned were proceeded againſt according to their Sentence. But when the Fortune of Arms had decided the Cauſe in their Favour, it was then found to be exactly agreeable to Juſtice, to puniſh with Death thoſe who had fought for the King. This will ſeem the leſs ſtrange, when it is remembred that

that the King himſelf had been adjudged and put to Death, for making War upon the Parliament. 1649.

Duke of Hamilton's Defence. Clarend. V. p. 265.

The *Duke* of *Hamilton* repreſented, That being born a Subject of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he had entred *England* in a hoſtile Manner, as an open and declared Enemy, by Virtue of a Commiſſion from the Parliament of *Scotland*, which it was his Duty to obey; and by Conſequence, he could be no otherwiſe treated than as a Priſoner of War. As this Objection had been foreſeen, it was immediately replyed, that he was not proceeded againſt as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*; that as he had accepted this Title, and in Conſequence of it taken a Seat in Parliament, he was thereby become a Subject of *England*: That if the Title of Duke of *Hamilton* obliged him to obey the Parliament of *Scotland*, that of *Earl* of *Cambridge* ought to have engaged him to refuſe the *Scotch* Commiſſion. Beſides, they were well informed that his accepting the Command of the *Scotch* Army, was not owing to meer Obedience, but to his own Sollicitation, and that he had been the principal Author of the War.

Earl of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* ſpoke but little in his own Defence. Beſides, the Steps which he had taken, and his frequent changing Sides, left ſmall hopes to his Cauſe.

Earl of Norwich.

The Lord *Goring* (*Earl of Norwich* *) repreſented, That he had been educated in the Court from his tendereſt Years, having been a Page to King *James* I. That he had never ſerved any other Maſter than the King, whom he had followed, without examining whether his Cauſe was Juſt or otherwiſe, not having had any Opportunity to be informed in ſuch Points, which beſides were above his Capacity.

Lord Capel.

The Lord *Capel* immoveable in his Principles, and zealouſly attached to the Cauſe of his Sovereign, defended

* The Earl of *Norwich* was Father to the Lord *Goring*, who commanded the King's Army.

1649. defended himſelf with more Courage and Reſolution. He refuſed at firſt to own the Authority of the Court, alledging, That if he had committed any Crime, his Proceſs ought to have been in the accuſtomed Form, and not before a Court unſupported by any Law. But the Condemnation of the King himſelf by a Court of no great Authority, might have convinced him, that ſuch a Defence could do him no Service. He ſaid at laſt, that having ſurrendred himſelf a Priſoner at Diſcretion, he could not by the Law of Nations be put to Death but within ſuch a Number of Days, which were long ſince expired. He urged, that when upon the taking of *Colcheſter*, the Council of War had condemned *Lucas* and *Liſle* to be ſhot, General *Fairfax* had promiſed Life to the other Priſoners, and therefore he demanded the Benefit of that Promiſe. The Court being ſomewhat at a loſs, ſent to the General to know what Promiſe he had made to the *Lord Capel*. His Anſwer was, That as General he had promiſed the Priſoners an exemption from Military Execution, to which Three had been condemned, and that his Intention reached no farther. Upon this Anſwer it was decided, that the General's Promiſe did not exempt the Priſoner from the Juſtice of the Parliament.

Sir John Owen.

Sir *John Owen* ſaid only, that he was obliged in Conſcience to ſerve the King in Virtue of the Oath of Allegiance.

They are condemned.

Petitions in their Favour.

Clarend.

Notwithſtanding their Defence, they all received Sentence of Death. But as they had many Friends, Petitions were offered to the Parliament in their behalf for a Pardon. Theſe Petitions were examined in the Houſe, and thoſe of the *Duke* of *Hamilton*, *Earl* of *Holland*, and *Lord Capel* rejected. The Votes were divided upon that of the *Earl* of *Norwich*, and as, according to Cuſtom, the Speaker's Vote was to decide the Matter, he declared for Pardon, ſaying, That he had once received from the Earl a ſignal Favour, and therefore his Vote was for

for Mercy. The Execution of Sir *John Owen* was ſuſpended, becauſe as a Commoner he ought to have been tryed before an inferiour Court. This ſaved his Life. The Three firſt were executed on a Scaffold erected before *Weſtminſter-Hall.* 1649.

The Duke of Hamilton *executed.* Clarend. Baker. p. 590.

The Duke complained when he was brought to the Scaffold, that he was condemned to dye for obeying the Parliament of *Scotland*; which if he had not done, he muſt have been put to Death there. But it was with little Foundation that he inſinuated a danger of dying in *Scotland*, for a refuſal to accept the Command of an Army which had been raiſed by his Intrigues, and Authority. He ſignified that, if his Life might be ſaved, he would make a Diſcory of the Perſons who had engaged him in the King's Service. Before his Proceſs was formed, he had been ſtrongly ſollicited to make this Diſcovery, which probably would have preſerved his Life at the Peril of many others; but his Offer came now too late. The Character of this Duke is not eaſie to be conceived: All that can be inferred from what has been ſaid for or againſt him, is, that he had the Art to ſuit himſelf to the Times. And the *Earl* of *Clarendon* plainly inſinuates, That at the very Time when he was employed by the King, he was ſecretly making Friends in the contrary Party, in caſe Affairs ſhould turn to the King's Diſadvantage. Baker.

Lord Capel *executed.* Clarend. Baker. p. 590.

The *Lord Capel* maintained, That he had acted nothing contrary to the Laws, and conſequently was unjuſtly ſentenced to die. He ſpoke of King *Charles* I. as if he had been a Saint, and enlarged upon the great Genius, the good Diſpoſition, the exemplary Piety of the Prince, to whom he gave the Title of King, who, he aſſured, would never depart from his Religion; in all appearance that Lord ſpoke his Sentiments. But the Sequel diſcovered that he either did not ſufficiently know *Charles* the IId, or that that Prince had other Principles when he was eſtabliſhed upon the Throne, than he had entertained in his greener Years.

At,

1649. *Other Executions.* Baker.

At or about the same Time, many others were executed for the same Crime in different Parts of the Kingdom. Amongst the rest were *Morrice* and *Blackbourn* who had surprized the Castle of *Pomfret* for the King. *Poyer*, *Powell and Langborn*, who had drawn into a Revolt from the Parliament the Principality of *Wales*, cast Lots for their Lives, and the first was executed.

The absent Members excluded the Parliament. Ludlow I. p. 302. Baker.

When the Army drove from the House the Members to the Number of a Hundred or more, who were unacceptable to them, those only were expressly excluded which were then sitting: But a great Number were absent, against whom nothing had been determined. Indeed these last had never since that time attempted to recover their Seats in the House, being apprehensive of the same Fate. But it was not impossible but they might return in a great Body, when ever a favourable Opportunity offered. This the House resolved to prevent, by an Act which excluded for ever all those who had never sate since the Death of the King, unless they gave the House an entire Satisfaction. At the same time a Committee was appointed to examine those who should offer themselves. This Committee received without Scruple those who were of *Independent* Principles, and found Reasons to exclude their Enemies. This indeed was a good Expedient to prevent Divisions in the Parliament, because none were suffered to sit there who were of opposite Principles. But this Precaution was attended with an Inconvenience which called for other Measures; that Inconvenience was the Ridicule to which the Parliament saw themselves exposed, in pretending to represent the Common-wealth with such a handful of Members. It is true, the vacant Places might have been filled by new Elections, but the Parliament did not care to run this Risque, well knowing that their Interest was yet too inconsiderable, to hope for New Members of their own Party and Principles. The House therefore resolved, in order to increase their Authority

rity by a greater Number of Members, to admit all such who had ſate in the preſent Parliament, to reſume their Places, on Condition of ſigning the following Inſtrument, called the *Engagement*, by which they rejected "all Conceſſions made by the King "in the Treaty of *Newport*, approved of all the "Proceedings againſt him, and engaged themſelves "to be true and faithful to the Common-wealth as "eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Lords". By this Engagement were excluded all the *Royaliſts*, and the *Presbyterians*, who were the moſt rigid Obſervers of the *Covenant*. This however did not prevent, but that a Number of the latter ſigned, and took their Seats in the Houſe, being either leſs ſcrupulous than their Brethren, or in hopes to recover ſome Influence in the Parliament. Notwithſtanding thoſe who were known to be moſt incenſed againſt the *Independents* were excluded by the Committee. *Edmond Ludlow*, a Member of this Committee, frankly owns in his Memoirs, that an Expedient was found to admit only thoſe from whom they believed they had nothing to fear.

1649.

They are re-admitted on Condition of ſigning an Engagement. Ludlow I. p. 306.

Which is ſigned by many Presbyterians. Clarend.

Ludlow I. p. 306.

The *Prince* of *Wales* received at the *Hague* the melancholy News of the tragical Death of his Father, and immediately aſſumed the Title of King, being then Eighteen Years of Age. Two or three Days after the *States-General*, the *States of Holland*, and the Miniſters of the *Hague* *, paid him their Compliments of Condolence. He qualified all thoſe who were about his Perſon, and had been of *Council* to the King his Father, to be his *Privy-Counſellors*, by the accuſtomed

The Prince of Wales *takes the Title of King.* February. Clarend. p. 275.

Eſtabliſhes a Council.

* The Body of the Clergy in a Latin Oration delivered by the chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune in Terms of as much Aſperity and Deteſtation of the Actors, as unworthy the Name of Chriſtians, as could be expreſſed. *Clarend.* Vol. III. Part the 1ſt, 8vo Edit. p. 276.

For which Reaſon perhaps the *States* inhibited their Miniſters from inſiſting upon Matters of State in their Pulpits, and particularly not to meddle with *England*'s or other Kingdom's Proceedings. *Whitlock*, p. 381.

1649. accuſtomed Oath tendred to them, and with the addition of only one Perſon *. He had no ſooner eſtabliſhed his *Council*, than he received a Letter from the Queen his Mother, which, after Expreſſions of her extreme Affliction, called him to her into *France*, with Advice to form no *Council* till ſhe had ſpoke with him; but the Advice came too late. In all likelihood the Queen aimed at governing the King her Son, as ſhe had before done the King her Husband, though the Power of the new King was next to nothing. His Condition was deplorable, as he was without all Ability to maintain his Houſhold, had no Table but that of the *Prince* of *Orange* his Brother-in-Law, and ſubſiſted merely by his Bounty. This could not be of long continuance. The *States* of *Holland* in foreſight that the Parliament would ſhortly ſollicit the King's removal out of their Dominions, would have been very glad to be diſcharged from the Neceſſity of deſiring him to be gone by his voluntary Retreat. Some of the *States* Deputies were even of Opinion, that the Demand of the Parliament ought to be prevented. The King was informed of this Diſpoſition, and wanted to be gone, but the Difficulty was whither. He had been ill received in *France* during the Life of his Father, and he had no room to expect now a better Reception. He knew too well the *Queen Regent* and *Cardinal Mazarine*, to flatter himſelf that his Friendſhip would be more available with them than that of the new *Common-wealth* of *England*. Therefore, though he ſhould reſolve to withdraw into *France*, it could be but for a very ſhort ſpace of Time. On the other hand, he had no great Inclination to be with the Queen his Mother, knowing that ſhe would hold him in a ſort of Servitude which he could neither comply with, nor avoid without a Rupture with her. *Ireland* only ſeemed to promiſe him an honourable

Is called by the Queen into France.

Is coldly treated in Holland.

Knows not whither to go.

He reſolves upon Ireland.

* Mr. *Long* his Secretary.

rable Retreat from the ſituation of his Affairs there, of which it is neceſſary to know the Sequel. 1649.

In the Year 1646, the *Marquiſs* of *Ormond* by expreſs Orders from the King had concluded a Peace with the *Iriſh Rebels*, in hopes of drawing from that Kingdom Forces ſufficiently ſtrong to drive from thence the *Engliſh* Parliamentarians and the *Scots*. But advantageous as this Peace was to the Catholick Religion, the *Pope's Nuntio* did not think fit to give his Conſent. The Pretence was, That the Catholicks found in it neither ſufficient Advantages, nor Security. But the true Reaſon was, that by this Peace he would have loſt all Credit, as the Marquiſs was to be acknowledged Governour by the *Iriſh* themſelves. He caballed therefore with ſuch Succeſs amongſt the People, that, in Effect, they not only deſerted the Marquiſs, but obliged him to withdraw to *Dublin*, by their Inſults upon him, where he was unprovided of every thing to defend that Capital, which they were preparing to beſiege. In this Extremity he choſe rather to deliver up *Dublin* and *Drogheda* to the Parliament, which he knew he was in no Capacity to defend, than to ſee them fall into the Hands of the Rebels. He capitulated therefore with the Parliament, and ſurrendred theſe two Places to Colonel *Jones*, who took Poſſeſſion the 17th of *June* 1647. After this the Marquiſs withdrew into *England*, where he had frequent leave to viſit the King, then a Priſoner of the Army, till in the Concluſion, he ſaw himſelf obliged to go over into *France*.

The Condition of Ireland. Clarend. Baker. p. 592. Bates II. p. 144.

After the Marquiſs had quitted *Ireland*, the *Nuntio* exerciſed a Tyranny, which grew intolerable to the *Iriſh*. They therefore ſent to the Queen and Prince then at *Paris*, that they were diſpoſed to ſhake off the Yoke laid upon them by the *Nuntio*; and if the *Marquiſs* of *Ormond* were diſpatched to them with a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, they would put him at the Head of an Army capable to drive all the King's Enemies out of the Iſland. The *Nuntio* had Notice

1649. Notice of this Plot, and excommunicated all thoſe who had any Hand in it: But for once he was too weak to put his Deſigns in execution. His Partiſans deſerted him, and he was even forced to receive as a Favour the Liberty to withdraw.

The *Marquiſs* of *Ormond* long attended at *Paris*, expecting the performance of a Promiſe made him by the *Cardinal* of a Supply of Money, Arms and Ammunition. But finding at laſt that he was only amuſed with Promiſes never like to be fulfilled, he departed without any Aſſiſtance, and arrived in *Ireland* about the beginning of *October* 1648. Three Months after he concluded a New Treaty with the Grand Council of the *Iriſh* aſſembled at *Kilkenny* *. At the ſame Time the Proceſs was forming in *England* againſt the King. This Peace was by no Means general. *Owen Roe O Neale* who commanded in *Ulſter* rejected it, becauſe as he pretended, it was not advantageous enough to the *Catholick Religion*. A great deal of Time was ſpent to gain him, but to no Purpoſe. At laſt the *Marquiſs* of *Ormond*, not to loſe the Opportunity of making Progreſs in *Ireland*, while the Parliament was buſie in erecting their New Common-wealth, reſolved to take no farther Notice of *O Neale*, but to act ſingly with the Army which the Council of *Kilkenny* had in their diſpoſal. He put himſelf therefore at the Head of it, and advancing towards *Dublin*, took *Dundalk*, *Newry*, *Trim*, *Drogheda*, and ſome other Towns and Caſtles, which facilitated his intended Siege of *Dublin*. On the other ſide, *Prince Rupert*, who was Admiral for the King, being purſued by the Parliament's Fleet, put into the Harbour of *Kinſale*, where he was ſecure, and in a Condition to favour the *Marquiſs* of *Ormond*'s Deſign. This favourable Diſpoſition of Affairs made the King judge that *Ireland* was a convenient Retreat, where at the Head

Bates II. p. 148.

Ibid. 162.

* This Treaty is to be met with in *Bates's Elenchus Motuum*, p. 145. and was very Advantage us to the *Roman* Catholicks.

Head of an Army, he might make himſelf Maſter of *Dublin*, and afterwards of the whole Iſland. After which he hoped that with his *Iriſh* Succours and his Friends in *England*, he might recover his Throne. But News from *Scotland* made him lay aſide the thought of the *Iriſh Expedition* for the preſent: And to *Scotland* we are to follow him. 1649.

Affairs of Scotland.

After *Cromwell*'s Expedition into that Kingdom, upon the Defeat of the Duke of *Hamilton*, Affairs there had taken a new Turn. The *Marquiſs* of *Argyle*, and all the *rigid Covenanters* who oppoſed the War againſt *England*, had regained the Advantages which they had loſt. The new Parliament had declared incapable of all ſorts of Employments, thoſe who had a Hand in the *Engagement* formed by *Duke Hamilton*, and the *Kirk* had excommunicated them: So that they were looked upon as Enemies of God and the State. In this Number were the *Earl* of *Lanarick*, Brother of the *Duke* of *Hamilton*, the *Earl* of *Lautherdale*, and many others, who formed the Faction, which I ſhall call *Hamiltorian*, and which was then entirely cruſhed. By this Revolution *Scotland* remained conſtantly united with *England*, ſo long as the *Engliſh* Parliament continued *Presbyterian*; that is to ſay, to the 6th of *December*, 1648.

The Revolution in *England*, upon driving the Presbyterian Members from Parliament to fill it with *Independents*, changed the Intereſts of *Scotland*. The *Independents* mortally hated the *Scots* on account of their Attachment to the *Covenant*, and theſe again looked upon the *Independents* as Enemies, which were equally formidable to them with the *Royaliſts*. This might have ſunk the Credit of *Argyle*, which partly ſubſiſted upon the Friendſhip he had contracted with *Cromwell* and *Vane*, the Chiefs of the *Independents*. But the *Scots* had a Confidence in him, becauſe in Religion he was an *approved Presbyterian*, though in Politicks he leaned much to the Republican Scheme. When the Parliament of *England* had erected a Court of Juſtice for the Trial of the

1649. King, the *Scots* found themselves very much embarrassed. To suffer the *Independents* to remain Masters of *England* after the Death of the King, which it was visible they had in View, must be attended with great Inconveniences to their Affairs. They fully perceived that a Parliament so composed would pay but little regard to *Scotland*, and infallibly ruin the *Covenant* between the two Kingdoms, which, it was nevertheless of the last Importance for the *Scots* to maintain, because they flattered themselves that the *Presbyterians* might one Day recover the Ground they had lost. But on the other hand, they could not take up Arms for the King without manifest Danger. Since their late Loss they had never been in Condition to bring an Army into the Field strong enough to fight the *Independents*; and if they had, it would have signified nothing to the saving the King's Life. They therefore could think of no other present Expedient, but that of declaring to the *English* and all *Europe*, that the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England* were highly disagreeable to them; and this was all they could do on this Occasion.

Clarend. p. 281. Baker, p. 589.

Pursuant to this Resolution, Commissioners were forthwith sent to *London*, where they arrived the beginning of *January* 1648-9, and presented a Memorial to the Parliament, setting forth the Reasons which ought to divert them from their Purpose of trying the King. But this Memorial produced no Effect. At last, after the King had been twice brought before the High-Court of Justice, they gave in their Protestation, in which they put them in Mind, "That "they had, near three Weeks before, represented "to them what Endeavours had been used to take "away the King's Life, and for the Change of the "Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and "introducing a sinful and ungodly Toleration in "Matters of Religion; and that therein they had "expressed their Thoughts, and Fears of the dan-"gerous Consequences that might follow thereup-"on; and that they had also earnestly pressed, "that

Clarend. Vol V. p. 280. Baker. p. 589. *The Scots Protestation.*

" that there might be no farther Proceedings againſt 1649.
" his Majeſty's Perſon, which would certainly con-
" tinue the great Diſtractions of the Kingdom, and
" involve them in many Evils, Troubles and Con-
" fuſions; but by that, the free Counſels of
" both Houſes of Parliament of *England*, and with
" the Advice and Conſent of the Parliament of
" *Scotland*, ſuch Courſe might be taken in relation
" to the King, as might be for the Good and Happi-
" neſs of both Kingdoms; both having an un-
" queſtionable, and undeniable Right in his Perſon,
" as King of both; which duly conſidered, they
" had Reaſon to hope, that it would have given a
" Stop to all farther Proceedings againſt his Maje-
" ſty's Perſon. But now underſtanding that after
" the Impriſonment and Excluſion of divers Mem-
" bers of the Houſe of Commons, and without,
" and againſt the Conſent of the Houſe of Peers,
" by a ſingle Act of their own, and Theirs alone,
" Power was given to certain Perſons of their own
" Members of the Army, and ſome others, to pro-
" ceed againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, in order where-
" unto he had been brought before that extraordi-
" nary new Court; they did therefore in the Name
" of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their Vindica-
" tion from falſe Aſperſions and Calumnies, de-
" clare, that though they were not ſatisfied with
" his Majeſty's late Conceſſions in the Treaty at
" *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, eſpecially in the
" Matters of Religion, and were reſolved not to
" crave his Reſtoration to his Government, before
" Satisfaction ſhould be given by him to that King-
" dom; yet they did all unanimouſly with one
" Voice, not one Member excepted, diſclaim the
" leaſt knowledge of, or occaſion to the late Pro-
" ceedings of the Army here againſt the King;
" and did ſincerely profeſs that it would be a great
" Grief unto their Hearts, and lie heavy upon their
" Spirits, if they ſhould ſee the truſting his Maje-
" ſty's Perſon to the two Houſes of the Parliament of

1649. "*England* to be made uſe of to his Ruin, contrary "to the declared Intentions of the Kingdom of "*Scotland*, and ſolemn Profeſſions of the Kingdom "of *England:* And to the end that it might be ma- "niſeſt to the World, how much they did abomi- "nate and deteſt ſo horrid a Deſign againſt his Ma- "jeſty's Perſon, they did, in the Name of the "Parliament and Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their "Diſſent from the ſaid Proceedings, and the taking "away of his Majeſty's Life; proteſting, that as "they were altogether free from the ſame, ſo they "might be free from all the Miſeries, evil Conſe- "quences, and Calamities, that might follow there- "upon to the diſtracted Kingdoms."

The Parliament's Anſwer. Clarend. V. p. 282.

The Parliament anſwered to this Proteſtation, but not till after the King's Death, "That they had "heretofore told them, what Power this Nation "had in the Fundamentals of Government: That "if *Scotland* had not the ſame Power and Liberty, "as they went not about to confine them, ſo they "would not be limited by them; but leaving them to "act in Their's as they ſhould ſee Cauſe, they re- "ſolved to maintain their own Liberties as God ſhould "enable them. And as they were very far from im- "poſing upon them, ſo they ſhould not willingly ſuf- "fer Impoſitions from them, whilſt God gave them "Strength or Lives to oppoſe them." They ſaid, "the Anſwer they made to their firſt and ſecond "Letter was, that after a long and ſerious Delibera- "tion of their own intrinſical Power, and Truſt "(derived to them by the Providence of God, "through the delegation of the People) and upon "the like Conſiderations of what themſelves and "the whole Nation had ſuffered from the Miſgo- "vernment and Tyranny of that King, both in "Peace, and by the Wars; and conſidering, how "fruitleſs, and full of Danger and Prejudice the "many Addreſſes to him for Peace had been, and "being conſcious how much they had provoked "and tempted God, by the Neglect of the im-

"partial

" partial Execution of Juſtice, in relation to the " innocent Blood ſpilt and Miſchief done in the late " Wars, they had proceeded in ſuch a Courſe of " Juſtice againſt that Man of Blood, as they doubt- " ed not the juſt God (who is no Reſpecter of Per- " ſons) did approve, and would countenance with " his Bleſſings upon the Nation; and though per- " haps they might meet with many Difficulties be- " fore their Liberties and Peace were ſettled, yet " they hoped they ſhould be preſerved from Con- " fuſion, by the good Will of him who dwelt in " the Buſh which burned and was not conſumed; " and that the Courſe they had taken with the " late King, and meant to follow towards others " the Capital Enemies of their Peace, was, they " hoped, that which would be for the Good and " Happineſs of both Nations; of which if that of " *Scotland* would think to make uſe, and vindicate " their own Liberty and Freedom (which lay be- " fore them if they gave them not away) they " would be ready to give them all neighbourly " and friendly Aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing there- " of; and deſired them to take it into their moſt " ſerious Conſideration, before they eſpouſed that " Quarrel, which could bring them no other Ad- " vantage than the entailing upon them, and their " Poſterities, a laſting War, with all the Miſeries " which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant " and his Iſſue." 1649.

Shortly after the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were recalled. But juſt at their departure, an Anſwer was in their Name preſented to the Parliament, which charged the ſitting Members with Infidelity, with the Breach of Promiſes and Oaths, and other things of a very offenſive Nature. This was ſo ill received by the Parliament, that they ordered them to be arreſted upon the Road, and put under Guard till it could be known whether they were abetted by their *Principals*. But as the *Scotch* Parliament avowing them, and complaining of the Right of Nations violated

Reply of the Scotch *Deputies.* Baker, p. 589.

1649. violated in their Persons, they were immediately discharged.

Difficulties under which the Scots lay.

In so nice a Conjuncture, the *Scots* had the choice but of two Things to prevent their falling into a dangerous Anarchy. They were either with the *English* to change their Government into a *Commonwealth*, or else acknowledge the eldest Son of the late King for their *Sovereign*. But either of these ways had its Difficulties. A *Republican Government* was directly contrary to *That* under which they and their Fore-Fathers had lived for many Ages, repugnant to the Two *Covenants*, and the Inclination of the People. Besides, it was not seen what Advantage could accrue to the Nation from such a Change. The Second way was likewise very embarrassing, considering what had been the Circumstances of *Scotland* for some Years backward. Had *James* I. and *Charles* I. not invaded the Priviledges of *Scotland*, by introducing the Religion of *England*, contrary to the Inclinations of the People: Had the Differences between *Charles* I. and his *Scotch* Subjects been unattended with any War: Had not the Treaty which terminated that War, and restored to the *Scots* their antient Religion, been extorted from the King: Had not the invincible Distrust of the *Scots*, with regard to *Charles* I. brought them into Arms to lessen his Power in *England*, and put him out of a Capacity to revoke his Concessions to them: Had not the *Scots* sworn to Two *Covenants*, one National, the other Common, to both Nations to maintain Presbyterianism: Had these Things, I say, never happened, the *Scots* might, nay, ought to have acknowledged for their *Sovereign* the next Heir of the Crown, agreeably to their immemorial Custom. But in the Recognition of this new King, the Maintainance of their Laws, their Priviledges, their Religion, were concerned. Here lay the Difficulty, for the Accession of a new King to the Crown, was no Reason to oblige them to give up a Cause which had cost them a Ten Years War. They

They knew that Prince *Charles*, eldeſt Son of the late King, had the ſame Principles as his Father both with relation to Religion, and the Civil Government; that he had never entertained, or did now entertain any Perſons about him, who were not mortal Enemies to their Nation and Religion as eſtabliſhed. Wherefore, in receiving him for their King without any previous Condition, they were not ſecure againſt a Relapſe into the ſame Circumſtances, which they had ſeen themſelves under in the Reign of *Charles* I, who by Artifices, and, as they thought, even by Fraud, and at laſt by open Violence, attempted to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an exact *Conformity* with the Church of *England*. As therefore agreeably to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, it was natural for them to accept for their *Sovereign* him on whom the Crown ought to devolve, it was no leſs ſo in the preſent Conjuncture to uſe all neceſſary Precautions to preſerve what they had with ſo much Difficulty recovered. Was it juſt or reaſonable for them to deliver themſelves up to the Diſcretion of a young Prince yet a Stranger to them, and put their Repoſe and Happineſs into the Power of his ſingle Will, notwithſtanding their Suſpicions that he had no more Affection for them than his Father? Nevertheleſs, as his Affairs were almoſt deſperate, they perſwaded themſelves that the Offer of their Crown would engage him to become a good *Scot*'s Man, to diſmiſs his *Engliſh* Counſellors, who were not proper for *Scotland*; in a Word, that he would think himſelf very happy in the Recovery of one of his Kingdoms, and in the poſſeſſion of the ſame Dignity his Anceſtors held, before his Grand-Father aſcended the Throne of *England*. They reſolved therefore to acknowledge and proclaim him, but with Reſtrictions which left them at liberty to capitulate with him. The Proclamation was thus worded, 1649.

1649. *The Proclamation of* Charles II. *in* Scotland. Baker, p. 589.

The Estates of Parliament presently * *convened in this Second Sessions of this Second Triennial Parliament, by Virtue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had Power and Authority from the last Parliament for convening the Parliament; considering that forasmuch as the King's Majesty, who lately reigned, is, contrary to the Dissent and Protestation of this Kingdom removed by a violent Death; and that by the Lord's Blessing there is left unto us a righteous Heir and lawful Successor,* Charles *Prince of* Scotland *and* Wales, *now King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland; *We the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully in Recognition and Acknowledgment of his Just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, Hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince* Charles *is, by the Providence of God and the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *whom all the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly, and faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the two Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods against all deadly Enemies, as their only righteous Sovereign Lord and King.*

And because his Majesty is bound by the Law of God, and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to rule in Righteousness and Equity, to the Honour of God, the Good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he shall give Satisfaction to the Kingdom in those Things that concern the Security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant for which End we are resolved with all possible Expedition to make our humble and earnest Addresses to his Majesty. For the Justification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, *publish*

* *Presently* in the *Scotch* Papers is used for *Now*, or at *Present*.

this

this our Acknowledgment of his juſt Rights, Title and Succeſſion to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms, at the Market-Croſs of Edinbourg, *with all uſual Solemnities, in like Caſes, and ordain his Royal Name Portrait, and Seal to be uſed in the Publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdom, and in the* Mint-houſe, *as was uſually done to his Royal Predeceſſors, and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the Market-Croſſes of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed, that none may pretend Ignorance.* 1649.

The King informed of it by an Expreſs.

When the Proclamation was ready, the Council diſpatched Sir *Joſeph Douglas* to give the King Notice of it, and the *States* ſent alſo Two Deputies, only to inform him of what had been acted in his Favour, but without any Commiſſion or Inſtruction to treat with him. Before the Conditions on which he was to be admitted to the Exerciſe of the Royal Authority were propoſed to him, it was neceſſary to know if he would accept the Crown upon Terms not yet explained, but eaſie to be gueſſed at. The Deputies found the King at the *Hague*, whither repaired at the ſame time, but in another Ship, the Earls of *Lanarick* and *Lautherdale*, and ſome time afterwards the Earl of *Montroſs* from *France*. When the late King, after his Retreat to the *Scotch* Army, ordered *Montroſs* to lay down his Arms, he retired into *Germany*, and ſerved in the Emperour's Army. Afterwards he went into *France*, where the Queen and Prince of *Wales* gave him a Reception very different from what he had Reaſon to expect, after the great Services by him performed for the King in *Scotland*. This Coldneſs was owing to his Arrival in *France* in the critical Time, that the Queen was uſing all her Endeavours to prevail with the King her Husband, to throw himſelf upon the *Presbyterians* and *Scots*, and to grant all their Demands, imagining that he had then no other Refuge. It was therefore no proper Seaſon to creep to a Man who was extremely hated in *Scotland*. His Succeſs

The Earls of Lanarick, Lautherdale, *and the Marquiſs of* Montroſs *arrive at the* Hague. Clarend.

1649. in ſerving the King had been conſiderable, but uſed with ſuch Barbarity, that he had been degraded by the *Parliament*, and excommunicated by the *Kirk*; ſo that *Scotland* conſidered him as her Enemy, and ſo did the *Presbyterians*. As his Reſidence in *France* was very diſagreeable, he had no ſooner Notice of the Death of *Charles* I. than he repaired to the *Hague* to offer his Service to the new King. In his Retinue were ſome Lords and Gentlemen attached to his Fortune.

The King receives the News of the Proclamation coldly.

The King received coldly the News of his being proclaimed, as the Proclamation was clogged with ſo many Reſtrictions. It had nevertheleſs nothing in it which ought to ſurpriſe him, ſince the *Scots* pretended to nothing which had not been asked of *Charles* I. agreeably to their Covenant, and the Covenant of the Two Kingdoms. But the King and his Council, it ſeems, were perſwaded that the *Scots* had not the leaſt Title to exact ſuch Conditions. That is to ſay, that the *Scots* in their Recognition of this new King, ought at the ſame to acknowledge the Injuſtice of their *Covenants*, and depart from all their Pretenſions. Theſe were two Contraries which they thought to be irreconcileable; namely, That the *Scots* ſhould own the King's undoubted Right, and yet ſhould deſire to capitulate with him. In a word, they pretended that whatever had paſſed the laſt Ten or Twelve Years, ought to be buried in utter Oblivion. *Charles* I. *Charles* II. and their Counſellors, were prejudiced in favour of an Opinion which had often deceived them; and that was, That no Mean could be allowed between a blind reſerved Attachment to the King, and the being his Enemy in every Thing; and on all Occaſions the Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory is full of Proofs of this Prejudice and Prepoſſeſſion.

Remark on a Paſſage in the Lord Clarendon's *Hiſtory.*

I ſhall content my ſelf with One relating to the Subject in Hand. This illuſtrious Hiſtorian in repreſenting the Nation of *Scotland*, as animated with a juſt Indignation againſt the *Engliſh Parliament*, for the

the Murder of the King, would have it inferred, that *Scotland* was inclined to accept the Prince his Son for Succeſſor without any Condition. But as this never happened, he aſcribes it to the Artifices and the Credit of the Marquiſs of *Argyle*. He ſays, That the Marquiſs could have wiſhed that the King might never have been proclaimed at all; but as he dared not to oppoſe the general Sentiments of his Country, he was under a Neceſſity to go into the common Meaſures. According to him, the Marquiſs of *Argyle* was the only Cauſe that the Reſtriction in the Proclamation was at all inſerted. This Suppoſition makes the Proclamation the Work of the People in general, and the Reſtriction in it the Reſult of the Intrigues of the Marquiſs of *Argyle*. But if this Reſtriction was conformable to the Intereſts and Sentiments of the ruling Party, as I have made it appear, why is it aſcribed ſingly to the Marquiſs? Was it impoſſible for the People of *Scotland* to acknowledge the Right of King *Charles* II. without an unreſerved Confidence and Truſt in him? But they treated with him no otherwiſe than they had done with the King his Father, as is plain, from the Covenant itſelf, in which the *Scots* ſhewed an extreme Diſtruſt towards the late King, even at the very Time that they engaged themſelves to defend his Perſon and Rights. The Reſtriction on them contained nothing which was either new, or ought to be looked on as extraordinary. It was a natural Conſequence of the Troubles which began in 1637. 1649.

However that be, *Charles* was of Opinion, that no great Regard was due to any Thing which had yet been acted for him in *Scotland*. He underſtood that in the Capitulation intended with him, Things would be demanded of him which he had reſolved not to grant, as the Confirmation of the *Covenant*, and of the Presbyterian Government. He was nevertheleſs deſirous to juſtifie his Diſinclination to *Scotland* on the Terms propoſed, by the Advice and Opinion

Deciſion amongſt the Scots *at the* Hague. Clarend. V. p. 285-9.

1649. Opinion of the *Scotch Lords* who were then with him at the *Hague*. For this Purpose he had a Mind that they should appear together before his *Council*, and there, after their Opinions asked, dissuade him from going into *Scotland*, and that upon this the *Council* should form a Resolution. The Marquiss of *Montross* was forward to take this Step; but the Earls of *Lautherdale* and *Lanarick*, which last had taken the Title of Duke of *Hamilton*, on hearing at the *Hague* the tragical News of the Death of the Duke his Brother, were not inclined to follow him. They thought it was a Step too nice for *Scots* Lords to come to a Resolution of appearing before an *English Council*. By this the Earl of *Traquaire* had before been ruined. On the other Hand, they were so enraged against the Marquiss of *Montross*, that they would have no Communication with him. When the King found that he could not bring them together upon this Subject, he declared however, that he would not go into *Scotland*, but persisted still in his Resolution for *Ireland*. Thus, upon a bare Information that *Scotland* would not receive him without Conditions, he resolved to refuse the Crown of that Kingdom. He did more; for at the same time he gave Commission to the Marquiss of *Montross* to raise Forces in *Germany*, and make a Descent upon *Scotland*. So that, far from receiving with any Acknowledgment the Offer made him by the *Scots*, he ordered a War to be made upon them, as upon Enemies, because they refused to admit him for their Sovereign, without a previous Engagement. Nothing better justifies the Precautions taken by the *Scots*, though some Historians are pleased to represent them as full of Injustice. The King could not reside any long time in *Holland*, where it was sufficiently intimated to him, that the Dread the *States* were under of a Quarrel with the new Commonwealth, made his stay there very unwelcome. Besides, they received Advice that the Parliament was about sending an Agent, to propose between the

The King declares against going into Scotland.

He gives Montross *a Commission to Invade* Scotland. Clarend.

Two

Two *Common-wealths* a close Alliance; and this Affair was not to be treated of whilst the King remained at the *Hague*. This Agent, named *Dorislaus*, actually was there before the King left the Place. But the Night of his Arrival, as he was at Supper in his Inn, with some other Persons, Six *Scots* of the Marquiss of *Montross*'s Retinue entered the Room, and after having dragged him from the Table, murdered him *. The Assassins were neither arrested, nor immediately pursued; and though afterwards some Pains were taken to have them apprehended, the *States* shewed some Deference for the King, which gave Offence to the Parliament. Nevertheless the King well knew, that after this Action there was no Security for him at the *Hague*, and the Prince of *Orange* advertised him that he would be desired to depart. He therefore ordered his heavy Baggage and some of his Domesticks for *Ireland*, with a Resolution to follow thither, after he had paid a Visit to his Mother in *France*. But as he was not yet in a readiness, he prevented the uneasie Compliment which the *States* were to pay him, by presenting himself a Memorial of the state of his Affairs, and asking their Opinion whether he ought to go for *Ireland* or *Scotland*. The *States* observing that he was upon the Point of leaving their Dominions, thought it not convenient to press him, and by that he gained the Time necessary for his Preparation.

Dorislaus the English Agent assassinated at the Hague, May 3. Clarend. V. p. 293.

The King prepares for Ireland.

He presents a Memorial to the States.

While the King was deliberating at the *Hague*, concerning the Offer received from *Scotland*, the *States* of that

Insurrection in Scotland. Clarend. V. Bak. p. 590.

* He was Doctor of the Civil Law, born in *Delf* in *Holland*, and bred at *Leyden*, but afterwards lived long in *London*, having been received into *Gresham* Colledge, as a Professor in one of those Chairs, which are endowed for Publick Lectures in that Society, and had been from the beginning of the Troubles, in the Exercise of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army. The Lord *Clarendon* says they were *Scots* that murdered him, but *Whitlock* says, That they were 12 *English Cavaliers* who stabbed him in several Places, and cut his Throat, one of them saying at the same time, *Thus dies one of the King's Judges*, Whitlock's Memoirs, p 386.

1649. that Kingdom were buſie in regulating the Terms on which he was to be received, not in the leaſt doubting his Inclination and Readineſs to accept the offered Crown. But he had Friends in *Scotland*, who, better acquainted with his Sentiments, reſolved to give a Diſturbance to the publick Deliberations, by an Inſurrection, in hopes from the happy Succeſs of their Arms, to have the King admitted without any Condition. With this View *Middleton*, *Monroe*, the *Gordons* and others, aſſembled ſome Forces in the North, and ſeized the Town of *Inverneſs*. But the Parliament, having before received Intimation of their Deſign, had already raiſed Forces, which were immediately to march to the North, under the leading of *Straughan* and *Kerr*, and diſperſe the Mutineers before they could bring all their Forces together.

Condition of Affairs in Ireland.

Firm as the King's Reſolution of going into *Ireland* was, it was impoſſible for him to execute it, from the turn which his Affairs had there received. After the Parliament was become Maſter of *Dublin*, it had been often moved in the Houſe, to ſend a powerful Reinforcement to *Ireland*: But the oppoſite Intereſts of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents* had kept the Houſe from coming to any Reſolution; the firſt were for ſending Sir *William Waller* to command the Forces there, and the latter were as earneſt for Major-General *Lambert*. The Diviſion between the *Parliament* and *Army* following cloſe upon this, brought new Obſtacles to this Affair. At laſt, the Revolt of *Wales*, the Inſurrections in other Counties, and the Preparations of the *Scots* to invade *England*, diſcharged all Thoughts of *Ireland*. If, in this Interval, the *Iriſh* could have come to an Union amongſt themſelves, and have joined the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, it had been eaſie to have drove out the Forces of the Parliament, and made an entire Conqueſt of the Kingdom. But their Diviſions loſt them ſo favourable an Opportunity. It was not, as I have already ſaid, before the End of the Year

1648, that they made Peace with the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, and the Oppoſitions of *O Neale* kept the Marquiſs from taking the Field before *April* 1649, when the King was dead, and the Government of *England* modelled into a *Common-wealth*. 1649.

The Union of the *Iriſh* with the *Royaliſts*, the Progreſs of the Marquiſs of *Ormond* before ſpoken of, the extreme Weakneſs of the Parliamentary Intereſt in that Nation, brought at the laſt the Houſe to a Reſolution to ſend thither a good Army, with all poſſible haſte. *Waller*, as he was a *Presbyterian*, was no longer judged a proper General to ſerve the Parliament; and *Lambert*, till then ſupported by *Cromwell*, was now ſupplanted by him. *Cromwell* believed that the Government of *Ireland* was a Poſt not unworthy of himſelf, and by his Intrigues ſucceeded ſo well, that he was unanimouſly choſe to fill the Dignity of Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom. But before his Troops could be in a readineſs for that Expedition, he had a Difficulty to overcome, which might have had dangerous Conſequences. *Cromwell is made Governour there.* Clarend. V. p. 320.

Beſides the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*, the Parliament had other Enemies on their Hands, who only waited an Opportunity to declare themſelves, and were embodied with the Army. Theſe were the *Levellers*, who took it very ill that after they had ſerved as Inſtruments to ruin the *Presbyterian* Parliament, they were not only ſlighted themſelves, but even treated as Seditious and Rebels. This occaſioned their getting together upon *Cromwell*'s being appointed to go and command in *Ireland*, under a pretended Neceſſity of enquiring what Troops were proper to ſerve in that Kingdom. For this Purpoſe they aſſembled at *Burford*, to the Number of five Thouſand Men, and without any Precaution continued there, pretending a Promiſe from *Cromwell*, that no *Inſurrection of the Levellers*, p. 654. Baker *, p. 591.

* Sir *Richard Baker*, whoſe Chronicle is extant, died 1645. The Book here cited is a Supplement added by one *Philips*, who writes partially, and aſcribes the Reſtoration chiefly to *Clargis*.

1649. no Part of the Army ſhould approach them nearer than the Diſtance of ten Miles. But *Raynolds*, by Order from General *Fairfax*, fell upon them with five or ſix Thouſand Men when he was not looked for, and gave them an entire Defeat. Nine Hundred Horſe, and four Hundred Foot made Priſoners, were ſent to *London*, and ſome of them executed. Others obtained their Pardon by the Mediation of *Cromwell*. This Affair being thus happily terminated, the Army was prepared which *Cromwell* was to lead into *Ireland*.

The Marquiſs of Ormond *unſucceſsful in* Ireland. Clarend. V. p. 322. Baker, p. 592. Bates, p. 148.

While this Army was drawing together, the Marquiſs of *Ormond* marched towards *Dublin* with an intent to beſiege it. This made *Cromwell* immediately diſpatch about three Thouſand Men to reinforce the Garriſon which was very weak. Mean while, as he believed he could not arrive ſoon enough to ſave that City, he came to a Reſolution to land his Army in the County of *Munſter*, where he hoped to find no Reſiſtance, as he knew that the Lord *Inchequin*, Preſident of that Province, was gone off with his *Engliſh* Troops, to reinforce the Army under the Marquiſs of *Ormond*. But the Marquiſs having Notice of his Intention, immediately diſpatched the Lord *Inchiquin* and the Forces under his Command to oppoſe this Deſcent, by which he conſiderable weakened his own Army. He however continued his March, and began the Blockade of *Dublin* about the middle of *June*. He ſtopped ſome time at *Finglas*, five Miles from *Dublin*, in expectation of new Succours, and at laſt paſſed the River, and poſted himſelf at *Ramines*, to lay the Siege in form. While he was in this Camp, the Succours ſent by *Cromwell* arrived in *Dublin*. A few Days after, the Marquiſs of *Ormond* reſolved to repair an old Caſtle, which by its Situation was proper to hinder any freſh Relief from coming into the Town. But Colonel *Jones* the Governour, who from a Lawyer was turned Soldier, and become a good Officer, ſenſible how much this Work would prejudice him, reſolved

He lays Siege to Dublin.

to

to do his utmoſt to prevent its being finiſhed. For this Purpoſe he put the Garriſon under Arms in the Night, and at break of Day made a Sally, marched directly to the Caſtle, and carried it Sword in Hand. This happy Succeſs puſhed him on towards the Enemy's Camp. He met by the way a Body of Horſe, which ſtopped him ſome time. But this Body being diſperſed, brought back ſuch Terrour to the *Iriſh* Army, that they fled in Confuſion without ſtriking a Blow. The Marquiſs of *Ormond* ſaw himſelf obliged to follow the flying Troops, to prevent falling into the Hands of his Enemies. After this Deſeat, he was obliged to retire to ſome diſtance, to wait for the Succours which he had been made to hope were ſhortly to be with him.

1649.

His Army defeated 2d Auguſt.

Cromwell informed of this good Succeſs whilſt he was imbarking his Army, changed his Deſign, and inſtead of going to *Munſter*, ſteered his Courſe to *Dublin*, where he arrived about the middle of *Auguſt*. After the Marquiſs of *Ormond* knew that *Cromwell* was at *Dublin*, he withdrew to a ſtill greater diſtance, and left in *Drogheda* a numerous Garriſon, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, an Officer of Reputation, who had been Governour of *Reading*, and afterwards of *Oxford*. About the ſame time *Londonderry*, the moſt conſiderable Town in the North of *Ireland*, which was beſieged by the King's Forces, was relieved by a Sally made by Sir *Richard Coot*, much after the ſame manner with that of *Jones* at *Dublin*.

Cromwell *lands at* Dublin.

From what we have related, it is manifeſt that the King could not venture to go into *Ireland*, whither he had no other Succour to bring but that of his own Perſon, while *Cromwell* was drawing together his Army on the Coaſt, and ſtill leſs after the Defeat of the Marquiſs of *Ormond*. But as on the other hand he was looked on with no good Eye in *France*, where, ſince his arrival there, the Court had made him no Offers to ſerve him, he reſolved to withdraw into the Iſle of *Jerſey*, as the only Place left where he could hope to be favourably receiv-

The King deſiſts from his Deſign of going into Ireland.

He retires to Jerſey. Clarend. V. p. 324.

1649. received *. He retired therefore to that Isle with the Duke of *York* his Brother, and his small Court, where he made a stay of some Months.

Windram *sent to him from* Scotland. Baker, p. 593. Clarend.

The Commotions raised by the King's Friends in *Scotland* being appeased, the Committee of the *States* assembled to prepare and digest the Conditions which were to be demanded of the King. It should seem that they were not yet informed in *Scotland* of the King's Sentiments, as they continued still to deliberate upon that Subject, which without doubt they would have dropped, had they been made acquainted with his Resolution. In all probability, as no Step had been taken by the *Estates* to invite him expressly to come and receive the Crown, he did not think himself obliged to communicate his Thoughts to them, and if the Envoys of the States and Council had received any Answer from him, it was too general to make any Inference from it. However that be, the Committee of Estates having learned that the King was in *Jersey*, sent Mr. *George Windram* to acquaint him, That they were desirous to treat with him concerning his Establishment in *Scotland*: But as the Isle of *Jersey* was neither safe, nor commodious, he was desired to name some Town in the *Low Countries*, where he might receive their Commissioners. For this Purpose they demanded of him by way of Preliminary, without which they could enter into no Negotiation, that he would be pleased to acknowledge the Authority of the Parliament then in Being, and particularly its two first Sessions. *Windram* left *Edinburgh* the 25th of *September*, and was not with the King till towards the end of *October*, being stopped in his Passage by contrary Winds: So that the King was fully informed of what had passed in *Ireland*, where *Cromwell* had taken *Drogheda* by Assault, having put the Garrison to the Sword, and was pushing his Conquests with wonderful Rapidity. This News made the

* Sir *George Carteret* was then Governour.

the King look upon *Scotland* with another Eye than he had yet done. He knew that neither *France* nor *Holland* would afford him a kind Reception. *Ireland* was entirely ſhut up to him, and *Jerſey* not capable to give him any long Subſiſtence. Beſides, it was no News to him that the Parliament had given Orders for a Fleet to reduce that Iſland, which was in no Condition to defend itſelf. *Scotland* then was the only Place where he could find any Safety and convenient Subſiſtence. He therefore received *Windram* very graciouſly, and named *Breda* for the Reception of the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, promiſing that he would be there the 15th of the following *March*. It was not however without ſome Uneaſineſs that he came to this Reſolution. Beſides, his little Affection for the *Scots*, whom he regarded as the principal Authors of his Father's Miſeries, he had not one Counſellor about him of Opinion that he ſhould put himſelf into their Hands. But neither had he any, who was capable to find out another Retreat: So that it was meer Neceſſity which brought him to the Reſolution of liſtening to the Propoſitions which the *Scots* were to make him. This, it is not to be doubted, was his only Motive, when it is conſidered that on the 30th of *January* 1649--50, he writ to the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, that the *Scots* had ſent *Windram* to him, and that their Deputies were to repair to *Breda*, in the following *March* to treat with him. He therefore preſſed him to haſten his Preparations for a Deſcent into *Scotland* before this Affair was regulated, in order to prevent its coming to a Concluſion, if it was poſſible, and if it pleaſed God to favour him with Succeſs *.

1649.

The King names Breda *for the Place to treat with the* Scots *Comiſſioners.* Baker, p. 597.

He writes to Montroſs *to haſten his Preparations againſt* Scotland. 1649 50. Baker, p. 599. Bate, II. p. 206.

Windram being returned with the King's Anſwer, the Committee of the Eſtates laboured inceſſantly to

* The Earl of *Clarendon* ſays nothing of this Letter from the King to the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, but *Baker*, *Bate* and others are poſitive that it was writ.

1649. finiſh the Propoſitions which were to be carried to him. The Project was laid before the Parliament, which made ſome Alterations, and then ordered it to be communicated to the general Aſſembly of the *Kirk* for their Approbation. It appears by this, that theſe Propoſitions were regulated with the common Conſent, as they had the Concurrence of both Parliament and *Kirk*, though ſome have been pleaſed to aſcribe them ſingly to the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, as if they were more agreeable to his Intereſt than that of the Kingdom. After this the Parliament and General Aſſembly named Deputies to carry them to the King. Theſe Deputies arrived at *Breda* within the Time aſſigned, and preſented the Conditions to the King, on which they were willing to admit him to the exerciſe of the Regal Power. They conſiſted of the Four following Articles:

Conditions preſented to the King by the Scotch *Commiſſioners.* Baker, p. 595. Clarend. V. p 342.

1. That all thoſe who have been, and continue Excommunicate by the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, may be removed from having any Acceſs to the Court.

2. That he would be pleaſed to declare, that he would by ſolemn Oath under his Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*; and that he would proſecute the Ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliament, enjoining the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, and eſtabliſhing *Preſbyterian* Government, the *Directory* of Worſhip, the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are already approved by the General Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom, and that he would give his Royal Aſſent to the Acts of Parliament injoining the ſame in the reſt of his Dominions, and that he would obſerve the ſame in his own Practice and Family, and never make Oppoſition therein, or endeavour any Change thereof.

4. That

4. That he would consent and agree that all Matters Civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, all Matters Ecclesiastical by the ensuing General Assemblies of the *Kirk*, as it was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late Father. 1649.

After the reading of these Conditions, the King demanded whether these Papers they had delivered to him contained all the Particulars which they had to propound or desire: Whether they had Power to recede from any particular Article, or to treat with him concerning the Succour which he might expect from *Scotland*, to place him upon the Throne of *England*. They answered, that their Commission extended only to the offering of these Propositions, and they were to receive either his Consent or Refusal.

Reflections upon these Propositions.

These Conditions, which to the *Scots* appeared very just, lawful, and absolutely necessary for the Safety of *Scotland*, seemed to the King hard and very unreasonable. This Contrariety will not appear strange if it is considered, that the King and the *Scots* reasoned upon different Principles, and with opposite Views. I am going to explain my self for the Reader's Advantage.

The People of *Scotland* were perswaded that they had been oppressed by *James* VI. in the establishment of Episcopacy in *Scotland* by that Prince, which had been abolished by the Reformation: That this had been brought about by Address, by Artifice, by Violence, whilst corrupt Parliaments were employed to enact new Laws relating to Religion, without any Notice taken of the *Kirk*, contrary to her Will and express Declarations: That *Charles* I. by a Fraud supported with Force, had invested himself with a Power of ordaining whatever he thought fit in Matters of Religion, under Cover of an Act pretended to be granted by a plurality of Voices, though indeed it had been rejected: That

1650. by Virtue of this pretended Power, he had not only reſtored Biſhops to their Revenues and Government in the Church, but had moreover given them a Juriſdiction more extenſive than they had ever before enjoyed: That he had eſtabliſhed a *High-Commiſſion* to ſupport this Injuſtice, and entirely ſuppreſſed the General Aſſemblies. In a Word, that he had changed the *Presbyterian* Government eſtabliſhed by the Reformation, into an *Hierarchy* exactly conformable to that of the Church of *England*: That he moreover aimed to impoſe upon them a *Liturgy* and *Canons* unknown to their Anceſtors, and to reduce the Worſhip of the Church of *Scotland* to a perfect Conformity with that of *England*: That the People of *Scotland* for their own Preſervation, and Maintainance of their Rights, ſo manifeſtly invaded, had judged it proper to unite together in a *Covenant*, intended to preſerve to the King his juſt Rights, and to the People and *Kirk* their Priviledges: That the King, not contented with what of Right belonged to him, had twice made War upon his *Scotch* Subjects to maintain himſelf in an uſurped Power, and to render *Scotland* dependent upon *England*: That this War had been terminated by a Treaty to which only the Neceſſity of the King's Affairs obliged him to ſubmit: That after this Treaty he had made a Journey into *Scotland*, where he had granted his Subjects whatever they had demanded of him, and even thoſe Things which with the greateſt Haughtineſs and Obſtinacy he had before refuſed: That they had Reaſon therefore to ſuſpect that he had only accommodated himſelf to the Times, till a favourable Opportunity offered, to encourage him to revoke what he had granted: That this Suſpicion in the *Scots* was by no Means unreaſonable, ſince the ſame Conduct of the King in *England* had given his Subjects there an immoveable Diſtruſt towards him: That it was therefore of abſolute Neceſſity to reduce him to a State, which would leave no room for future Fears: That to this end the *Scots* had made

with the *Engliſh* a ſolemn League, as having one common Intereſt, and that the Fate of Arms had decided in favour of the Allies againſt the King: That notwithſtanding this Deciſion, the *Scots* never had entertained a thought of withdrawing themſelves from the Obedience due to the King, but only to have Securities from him ſtronger than could be hoped from bare Promiſes: That the tragical Death of *Charles* I. had not at all changed the Face of Affairs in *Scotland*, or procured them the Security ſo many Years deſired: That they asked no more of the new King than they had a Right to demand of his Father: That their Deſires were by no means unjuſt, ſince they pretended to no more than a Maintenance in that State, which they enjoyed before the two laſt Kings had taken it into their Heads to model Religion and the State according to their own *Caprice* and the *Pleaſure* of their *Engliſh* Counſellors: That they had riſqued every thing to reſtore themſelves to the State from whence they had fallen: That God having granted a happy Succeſs, they ſaw no Reaſon ſtrong enough to oblige them to deſiſt, and expoſe their Repoſe and Religion to the Caprices of a young Prince, who was known to have the ſame Sentiments and Principles of his Father and Grand-Father: That the Conditions offered him limited not his Prerogative as King of *Scotland*, but only put it out of his Power to tread in the Steps of the King his Father: That in offering him the Crown of *Scotland*, they had a Right to Demand that he ſhould govern according to the true Intereſt of that Kingdom: That if theſe Conditions appeared to him contrary to his Intereſt with regard to *England*, he was at liberty to reject them; but his Intereſt with reſpect to *England* was no good Reaſon to engage the *Scots* to riſque their Happineſs in leaving him the Choice how they ſhould be governed: That it was not yet fifty Years ſince *James* VI. became King of *England*, and that *Charles* I. having loſt that Crown by his ill 1650.

1650. Conduct, and *Charles* II. being left without hopes of recovering it, ought to eſteem himſelf happy that his *Scotch* Subjects had offered him the Crown of his antient Kingdom, on the Terms it had been held by his Anceſtors for ſo many Ages; and that in becoming a good *Scots-Man*, he would recover the Figure which his Anceſtors the Kings of *Scotland* had formerly made: That no Reaſon obliged them to ſuffer Perſons about the King, who would give him pernicious Counſel in order to ſow Diviſion between the King and his Subjects, Perſons excommunicate, and Conſpirators againſt the State in their attempt to re-place the late King upon the Throne of his two Kingdoms by open Force and Violence.

Reaſons and Intereſts of the King.

But the King reaſoned upon other Principles. The Offer of the Crown of *Scotland* was no otherwiſe regarded by him, than as it might aſſiſt his Recovery of the Throne of *England*; that was the principal Object of his Attention. He little cared to be King of *Scotland*, if the Forces of that Kingdom were not to be at his Diſpoſal for obtaining his other Crown. Nevertheleſs his Power was to be limited in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould not be poſſible for him to draw any Advantage from *Scotland* to attain his Ends. All thoſe Perſons who were eſteemed by him as his beſt Friends, and who had uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to free his Father, and reſtore him to the enjoyment of his Rights, were to be removed from his Perſon and Council; and yet they were the Perſons whoſe Aſſiſtance he relied on for the recovery of *England*. In accepting the Crown of *Scotland*, he was even to forget that he had any juſt Claim to the other: He was to govern *Scotland* in the way that his Anceſtors had done before they mounted the Throne of *England*; that is to ſay, he was to look upon his *Engliſh* Friends with laſting Diſtruſt, and conſequently renounce all hope of a re-eſtabliſhment in *England*. He was to ſwear to the *National Covenant*, which had been made againſt the King his Father, with deſign

ſign to prevent his ever introducing the Church-Government and Worſhip of *England* into *Scotland*, which he believed the only lawful ones. He was to ſwear to the *Covenant* of the two Kingdoms, the ſole Aim whereof was the Maintenance of *Presbyterianiſm* already eſtabliſhed in *England*, which was an infallible way to make him loſe his Friends. He was, laſtly, not only to give his Approbation and Protection to *Presbyterianiſm* in the two Kingdoms, but he was to promiſe a ſincere and conſtant Profeſſion of the ſame himſelf. But this was directly contrary to both his Sentiments and Conſcience, as he ſcarce believed the *Presbyterians* to be any Part of the Chriſtian Church. 1650.

The King diſſembles his Reſentment.

It is apparent from this, that the Intereſts of the King and thoſe of the Nation of *Scotland* were as oppoſite as they had ever been during the Life of *Charles* I. and that the ſame Difficulties ſtill ſubſiſted, nor were to be ſurmounted otherwiſe than by the Arms or Acquieſcence of one of the Parties. The King was in no Condition to uſe Force, and yet the Terms to be impoſed upon him appeared ſo hard, that it would not have coſt him one Moment's Deliberation to reject them, had any other Choice allowed him the Liberty. But the melancholly Poſture of his Affairs, which yielded him neither Subſiſtence nor Safety in any other Place, obliged him, though very unwilling, to diſſemble his Reſentment, and to treat with the *Scotch* Deputies upon Propoſitions which, to his Apprehenſion, were the moſt unjuſt. There were two Articles which he could not digeſt. The firſt was, the Obligation laid upon him to ſwear to the *Covenant*. He urged, that the *Covenant* had been made for the Subjects, and not for the Prince, ſince it obliged the Taker to ſwear to be faithful to the King, but it was abſurd for him to ſwear Allegiance to himſelf. This Objection would have admitted of no Reply if this had been the only Article in the *Covenant*. But there were others in which it was ſaid that the King was no

Forms Difficulties upon the Covenant and Religion as they related to his own Perſon.

1650. leſs concerned than his Subjects. The ſecond related to Religion. He was willing to give his Conſent to the eſtabliſhment of *Presbytery* in *Scotland* by Act of Parliament: But it could not with any Juſtice be required of him to renounce the Religion for which the King his Father had dyed a Martyr, but that he would content himſelf with only three Chaplains to celebrate Divine Service in his Preſence after the manner of the Church of *England*. But all he could alledge ſignified nothing; the Commiſſioners had no Power to recede from any one Article. In the ſame manner had the Parliament of *England* uſed to treat his Father. They left no Power but that of accepting or refuſing what was propoſed to him. The King was ſatisfied that nothing was to be gained by diſputing upon the Articles, but he was deſirous to prolong the Negotiation as much as poſſible, in hopes of good News from *Scotland*, where he knew the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* would ſhortly make his Appearance. This was his laſt Refuge; and had the Marquiſs been attended with his former Succeſs, there is no room to doubt but the Treaty would have come to a ſhort Concluſion, by the King's having it in his Power to reject abſolutely the Conditions propoſed to him: But the Progreſs of the Marquiſs was not ſuch as the King hoped for.

The Commiſſioners will not recede.

Are amuſed by the King.

The Progreſs of the Marquiſs of Montroſs *in* Germany. Clarend. V. p. 349. Baker, p. 595.

After that Lord had left the King at the *Hague*, he went to the North of *Germany* to endeavour to raiſe Forces and Money, the King having only given him a bare Commiſſion without any other Aſſiſtance. The King of *Denmark*, as near Relation to the King, funiſhed him with a Sum of Money, and the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Sweden* aſſiſted him all they could. With this Relief he ſaw himſelf in a Condition to buy Arms and Ammunition, and to inliſt five Hundred Soldiers which he ſent in the Month of *March* into one of the Iſles of *Orkney*. He followed himſelf in the Month of *April*, and from thence repaired with his Troops to *Cathneſs* in the North of *Scotland*. It was preciſely at the Time that the *Scotch* Commiſſio-

Commiſſioners were with the King at *Breda*. As the King had received Information that *Montroſs* was already gone for *Scotland*, he waited the Iſſue of this Expedition before he would come to any Concluſion with the Deputies, whom he nevertheleſs entertained with hopes of granting their Demands. 1650.

He arrives in Scotland. Bate, p. 208.

After the Marquiſs was arrived at *Cathneſs*, he ſeized a Caſtle convenient for the Security of his Arms and Ammunition; then he writ to his Friends to join him. At the ſame time he publiſhed a *Manifeſto* in which he ſet forth, "That he was "come with a Commiſſion from the King to pro- "tect his good Subjects; but with no Deſign to "obſtruct the Negotiation at *Breda*; on the con- "trary he hoped to haſten the concluſion of it by "means of his Army. If the Treaty ſucceeded, "he ſhould without any Difficulty lay down his "Arms on the firſt Command from his Majeſty."

The Conduct of the King offenſive to the Parliament of Scotland;

The *Scotch* Parliament then ſitting at *Edinburgh* was ſurprized to hear of the arrival of *Montroſs* in that Conjuncture with a Commiſſion from the King. It was not difficult to comprehend that, whatever was pretended, this was not the way to forward the Treaty, but rather to obſtruct it, and force the Parliament to deſiſt from Conditions which they judged ſo neceſſary for the Safety of the Kingdom. It may well be imagined that this Step gave no favourable Opinion of the King's Sincerity.

which raiſes 6000 *Men againſt* Montroſs.

Mean while, as *Montroſs* was not to be neglected when it was remembred what his Succeſs had formerly been in the Service of the late King, the Parliament gave immediate Orders for the raiſing with all poſſible Expedition an Army of ſix Thouſand Men, under the command of *David Leſley*. 'Till this Army could be got ready, Colonel *Straughan* was detached with three Hundred Horſe to march northward, in order to awe the Country, and prevent the King's Friends from joining with *Montroſs*. This Precaution had a ſuprizing Effect. The King's Friends, either fearful of falling into the Hands of

Straughan *ſent before with* 300 *Horſe.*

this

1650. this *Cavalry*, or dreading the approach of the ſix Thouſand Men which were to follow, made no Efforts, and *Montroſs* received no aſſiſtance but from ſome ill-armed and worſe diſciplined *High-landers*. So that his ſmall Army, if it deſerves that Name, compoſed of Soldiers of different Nations, Strangers to one another's Language, and brought into a barren Country, were in no Condition to make any great Progreſs. Beſides, as *Montroſs* had no Horſe to ſcour the Country and bring him Intelligence, he was unacquainted with what was acting in other Places, and particularly the March of *Strauhan*, in vain expecting the King's Adherents to come and join him. To this was owing his being ſurprized by *Straughan*'s handful of Men, which, after a long March, fell upon him unexpected. At ſight of the Enemy the *High-landers* deſerted and fled; the Foreigners gave more Reſiſtance, but in the end were routed. The Marquiſs being forced to fly, threw away his *Ribband* and *George*, and took the Habit of a Peaſant to prevent a diſcovery. He wandred ſome Days in this Habit, and at laſt put himſelf into the Hands of a Gentleman named *Aſton*, who had formerly ſerved under him, and promiſed his Concealment. But whether the hope of the Reward publiſhed for the taking him, or his fear of the moſt rigorous Puniſhment if he concealed him, wrought upon him *, it is certain that he delivered him into the Hands of *Leſley*, who immediately ſent him to *Edinburgh*. The Parliament then ſitting reſolved to try him; and, as ſince his Degradation, he went by no other Name than that of *James Graham*, and was univerſally hated, no regard was paid to his Birth. He was condemned to be hanged on a Gallows thirty Foot high, with this addition to his Sentence, that, after he was dead, his Head ſhould be ſevered from his Body, and ſet on *Edinburgh* Talbooth: His Arms and

Montroſs ſurprized, defeated, and taken Priſoner, 29th of April.

Condemned to be hanged.

* *Bate* in his *Flenchu Motuum* aſſures us, that *Aſton* received two Thouſand Pounds, in reward of his Treachery.

and Legs ſent to four different Cities, to be there expoſed a Spectacle, and his Body buried under the Gallows. He met Death with extraordinary Reſolution, and before his Execution made a Speech to the People, in which, far from owning himſelf to have done any thing worthy of Death, he teſtified on the contrary an entire perſwaſion of the Juſtice of the Cauſe which he had ſupported. He ſaid that *Charles* I. died a Martyr, and aſſured the People that the new King would obſerve all his Promiſes made to the *Scots*, wherein he was as bad a Prophet, as the Lord *Capel* had been in *England*. Thus fell the Marquiſs of *Montroſs*, who had rendred himſelf famous by great Actions performed for the late King in *Scotland*; but, at the ſame time, odious to his Country-men by his Inhumanity to them whenever he had the Advantage. 1650. *Makes a Speech before his Execution*, 21ſt May.

The tragical Death of the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* daſhed all the King's Hopes, who ſaw himſelf by this Means deprived of the only Refuge which was left him. He complained loudly to the Commiſſioners of the Execution of that Lord at the very time of the Negotiation, and contrary to all good Faith. He writ at the ſame time to the Committee of States in the ſame Strain of Complaints. But the Anſwer returned ſhut his Mouth, and inſtructed him that his Silence was his beſt Plea in this Affair. That Anſwer imported, that Papers were found upon *Montroſs*, which it was more for his Honour to conceal than to publiſh. The King eaſily underſtood that by this was meant the Commiſſion granted to the Marquiſs after having received the News of his being proclaimed, and his Letter writ the 30th of *January*, after the Time and Place of Conference was fixed. This juſtified the Parliament of *Scotland* with regard to the Charge of Breach of Faith, and ſhewed that it indeed lay on the ſide of the King. *The King complains of his Execution.* Baker, p. 599. Bate, p. 212. *The Anſwer of the States.*

The Death of the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* having left the King without Refuge or Place to retire to with any Safety and Convenience, he at laſt accepted the *The King ſigns the Treaty*, June.

1650. the Conditions, ſuch as they had been propoſed by the Commiſſioners. The ſigning of the *Covenant* was deferred till his arrival in *Scotland*, with a Promiſe from him of complying in that Article, if it was judged proper to preſs him upon it when he ſhould be at *Edinburgh*. The Commiſſioners were willing to grant him this ſmall Favour, well aſſured that nothing would ever prevail with the *Eſtates* to recede from this Demand. It is certain that the King ſubmitted to theſe Conditions only becauſe he had no other Courſe to take; and it is, perhaps, no leſs certain, that he had no intention to obſerve them any longer than he was under compulſion. This is manifeſt from the Hiſtory of thoſe Times writ by the Partizans of the King, who have thought it ſtrange that the King ſhould be obliged in *Scotland* ſtrictly to obſerve what he had promiſed by Oath. As if his Promiſe and Oath had been only empty Formalities, which were not to bind him.

He embarks in Holland *for* Scotland, June. Baker, p. 599.

After the King had ſigned the Conditions, he went to *Scheveling* near the *Hague* to take Shipping for *Holland*. He had in his Retinue the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and ſome other *Scots*, who gave him hopes that his Preſence in *Scotland* would remove all Suſpicions, and that an exact obſervation of what he had promiſed would be diſpenſed with. But on his arrival, before he was ſuffered to land, the *Covenant* was ſo preſſed upon him, that he could not avoid taking it. He had poſitively promiſed this at *Breda*, and none about him durſt adviſe him to break his Word. This exactneſs of the *Eſtates* made Duke *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lautherdale* ſenſible that it was not ſafe for them to appear publickly in *Scotland*. Therefore having found Means to land with the King, they retired to their own Eſtates, or the Houſes of their Friends, to keep out of ſight, till a more favourable Opportunity ſhould call them Abroad.

Arrives there, and is obliged to ſign the Covenant, Clarend. VI. p. 3. Hamilton *and* Lautherdale *conceal themſelves.*

The manner of the King's Reception.

The Marquiſs of *Argyle* received the King with extraordinary Reverence and outward Marks of Reſpect

ſpect. But two Days after, all his *Engliſh* Domeſticks were taken from him, excepting only the Duke of *Buckingham*. Some of them were obliged to return into *Holland*, others withdrew at a diſtance from the Court to Friends who were willing to entertain them. This Rigour appears ſtrange at firſt, and by ſome is ſo repreſented. But it is to be conſidered that the *Scots* were for receiving the King on no other Terms than thoſe on which they would have admitted his Father, had he happily eſcaped from Priſon, and retired into *Scotland*. Certainly they would never have ſuffered about him Perſons of Principles and Maxims directly oppoſite to the Intereſts of *Scotland*, and the Kingdom's reputed Enemies. Why then were they to repoſe more Confidence in *Charles* II? Precaution was not more neceſſary under the laſt Reign, than under the preſent. 1650. *Reaſons for it.*

After the Friends and Confidents of the King had thus been removed from his Perſon, he ſaw himſelf in the Hands of Men who were Strangers to him, and of Principles different from thoſe in which he had been educated: So that he found himſelf under great Difficulties, though outwardly he received all the Reſpect due to his Rank. But what gave him the moſt Vexation, was the importunity of the Miniſters, pretending a Duty incumbent on them to inſtruct him in the *Presbyterian* Religion, and making no Scruple to brand the *Hierarchy* and Worſhip of the Church of *England* with the Name of *Doctrine of Devils*. They pretended that the King's Promiſe and Oath to make profeſſion of *Presbyterianiſm* obliged him to receive their Inſtructions. The Streight he was in on this occaſion was a natural Conſequence of the Promiſe he had made, with no intention to keep it. To extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty in the beſt manner he was able, he was preſent at their Sermons and Prayers, but with ſo little attention, that it was too plain his Heart did not join with them. The Reluctance he ſhewed upon this Article gave the *Scots* an untoward Opinion of him, as *The King under great Difficulties in* Scotland. Clarend. VI. p. 367. Bate, p. 213. *He diſcovers his Diſpoſition with regard to Religion, and loſes the Confidence of the* Scots.

1650 as they were perſwaded that he had ſwore againſt his Conſcience, with an Intention to obſerve his Promiſes no longer than he ſhould be conſtrained to it. It ought not therefore to ſeem ſtrange that they had no Confidence in him, and that thoſe of them who were in the chief Management of Affairs had little Communication with him. He was not conſidered as a Prince attached to the Intereſts and Religion of the Kingdom, but as having an Intention to eſtabliſh other Maxims when it lay in his Power. But if we look back to what had paſſed of late Years, and to the Source of the Troubles, it will not be thought ſo ſtrange that the *Scots* took Precautions with regard to their new King, and refuſed him a Confidence, which, in that nice Conjuncture, appeared to them very dangerous.

Aims to re-eſtabliſh the Hamiltonians.

It was not long before it was ſeen how neceſſary theſe Precautions were by the Efforts which the King made to reconcile to the State and the Church, thoſe who had entred into the late Duke of *Hamilton*'s Engagement to raiſe an Army, which, under colour of acting againſt the *Independents*, was deſigned to reſtore the late King to the Throne of *England* without any Condition. By this the Contrivers had plunged *Scotland* into a War not only unneceſſary, but moreover directly contrary to its Intereſts. Beſides their ill Conduct had occaſioned the loſs of a numerous Army, and a great effuſion of Blood. But what might not the *Scots* have had to ſay in aggravation of the Crimes of the *Hamiltonians*, had they known the ſecret Treaty made with the late King in the Iſle of *Wight*, ſo contrary to the *Covenant* of both Kingdoms? It is not therefore ſtrange that Men who had gone into Views ſo oppoſite to the Intereſt of the Kingdom, or at leaſt of the prevailing Party, were regarded by that Party as Enemies of the State and of Religion. Theſe nevertheleſs were the Men for whom the King laboured ſo ſtrenuouſly, under the Pretence of procuring a happy Union amongſt his Subjects. But at the ſame time he diſcovered

covered ſufficiently his Averſion to the Maxims by which *Scotland* was then governed, and his Intention to put his Friends in a Capacity to oppoſe the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who was the Head of the contrary Faction and of the preſent Government. That Lord eaſily fathomed the King's Intention. And therefore inſtead of that attendance on his Perſon, and application made to him before, he gradually withdrew himſelf from him, as from a ſecret Enemy who only waited an Occaſion to ruin him. 1650.

Argyle diſtruſts the King.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Scotland*, the Parliament of *England* was not aſleep. After they had learned that Commiſſioners from *Scotland* were to have a Conference with the King at *Breda*, they judged rightly that *Charles* would accept the Crown of *Scotland* on any Terms, in order to make uſe of the Forces of that Kingdom to invade *England*. This War, which the Parliament deemed unavoidable, could not but be very dangerous to the *Independent* Party, if it was brought into *England*. The *Independents*, though then uppermoſt, had no other ſupport but the Army, with the *Presbyterians*, the *Royaliſts*, and the City of *London* for their Enemies. There was therefore a great likelihood, that if the King ſhould enter *England* at the Head of a *Scotch* Army, he would be joined by the *Royaliſts*, and favoured by the *Presbyterians*. It was therefore in prevention of this Danger that the Parliament reſolved to carry the War into *Scotland*. This Reſolution was founded entirely upon political Intereſt, foraſmuch as the Parliament had nothing to complain of from the *Scots*, who, in recognizing for their *Sovereign* the eldeſt Son of their late King, did no Injury to *England*. Nay, it was a Conſequence of the *Covenant* of the two Kingdoms, though manifeſtly violated by the *Engliſh* Parliament. But here the Parliament believed themſelves not tyed to a ſcrupulous Obſervation of the Rules of Equity, for fear of the Prejudice with which ſuch Scruples might in time be attended. It was therefore determined entirely by

Reſolution of the Engliſh *Parliament againſt* Scotland.

1650. Intereſt, which required the War rather to be removed into *Scotland* than expected in *England*.

Cromwell *recalled from* Ireland.

After the Parliament had come to this Reſolution, *Cromwell* was haſtily recalled out of *Ireland* to take the Command of the Army which was to act againſt *Scotland*. In the laſt Invaſion which the *Scots* had made upon *England* under the leading of Duke *Hamilton*, the Behaviour of General *Fairfax* had given occaſion to judge that he would unwillingly accept the Conduct of this new War, and in that they were not miſtaken. *Cromwell*'s Succeſs in *Ireland* had been ſuch as the Parliament could have wiſhed. After the taking *Drogheda* before-mentioned, he ſeized *Kilkenny* and many other Places, and in a little time reduced the greateſt Part of the Iſland to the Obedience of the Parliament. The Marquiſs of *Ormond* was little capable to give him any Reſiſtance, ſuch was the Diviſion ſtill reigning amongſt the *Iriſh*. This Diviſion went ſo far, that *O Neale* had at laſt concluded a Treaty with *Monk* one of the Parliament Generals, commiſſioned to treat with him by the Council of State. But the Parliament refuſed to ratify the Treaty as it was too favourable to the *Catholicks*, and therefore *O Neale* had begun to treat with the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, and was upon the Point of joining him, when his Death prevented the execution of his Deſign. His Troops diſperſed upon his Death, without any Advantage received from them by the Marquiſs of *Ormond*. In the mean time *Cromwell* continued his Conqueſts with ſurprizing Rapidity, and to prevent the accommodation and junction of the *Iriſh* amongſt themſelves, he thought of one Expedient, which ſucceeded to his Wiſh. He publiſhed by Proclamation a Permiſſion to all the *Iriſh* Officers to inliſt to what Number they pleaſed, in the Service of foreign Princes, Soldiers of their own Nation, with a Promiſe to give them no diſturbance or moleſtation. More than twenty five Thouſand immediately embraced the Offer, and went into the Service of *France* and *Spain*,

His Conqueſt in Ireland. Clarend. V. p 358.

Diviſion amongſt the Iriſh. Bate, p. 162.

The Death of ONeale *the* Iriſh *Rebel.*

Cromwell *permits the* Iriſh *to ſerve foreign Princes.* Clarend. V. p. 361.

Spain, and a greater Number followed afterwards. This Step prevented the Marquiſs of *Ormond* from bringing an Army into the Field capable to make Head againſt that of the Parliament. So that when *Cromwell* was recalled, the *Iriſh* Affairs were in ſo good Condition, that his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, left behind as his Lieutenant, had hardly any Buſineſs remaining upon his Hands. 1050.

He leaves Ireton *in command of* Ireland. Bate, p. 171.

Cromwell, returned to *London*, took his Seat in the Parliament, where, by Order of the Houſe the Speaker returned him Thanks for the Services he performed for the Common-wealth. After this, the *Scotch* War being the moſt preſſing Affair, the Parliament cauſed *Fairfax* to be asked whether he would take upon him the Conduct of the War. He replied, That if the *Scots* entred *England* with an Army, he would not be wanting in his Endeavours to drive them back; but he deſired to be excuſed from falling upon them in their own Country. Some Endeavours were uſed to convince him of the Juſtice and Neceſſity of this War, but without any Succeſs. *Cromwell* acted his Part ſo well, that though he paſſionately wiſhed to be Commander in Chief, yet he gave his Opinion in favour of *Fairfax*, and pretended that he ſhould be well ſatisfied with ſerving under him as his Lieutenant. *Fairfax* underſtood well enough, that, as he was a *Presbyterian*, (notwithſtanding his Services too faithfully performed for the *Independents*) the Parliament had no great Confidence in him, and that the Zeal ſhewn in this Affair on his behalf, was only an empty Ceremony. He therefore ſent his Commiſſion to the Houſe which was cheerfully received, and he had an annual Penſion of five Thouſand Pounds ſettled on him in acknowledgment of his Services. Immediately *Cromwell* was declared General of the Armies of the Common-wealth, and his Commiſſion diſpatched out of Hand *.

Clarend. VI. p 374.

Fairfax *depoſes himſelf from the Generalſhip, and is ſucceeded by* Cromwell. 26 June.

* *Whitlock* ſays, the Lord *Fairfax* being adviſed with, ſeemed at

1650. *The Parliament's Manifesto.*

While the Army was raising which was to act against *Scotland*, the Parliament appointed a Committee to draw up a *Manifesto* on occasion of the intended War. This Precaution appeared so much the more necessary, as the House was not ignorant that the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians* would leave no Stone unturned to cause this War to be looked upon as the most unjust that ever was, being begun with no Provocation from *Scotland*. The Committee employed about the Manifesto, not willing to publish the true Reason of the War, which was no other than the support of the *Independent* Cause, contented themselves with a suspicion, that the *Scots* had a Design to force the *English* to acknowledge King *Charles* II. though they had not then moved one Step towards it. It was nevertheless very likely that the King would attempt every Expedient to bring the *Scots* to a Rupture with the *English* Parliament; but there was no great probability of Success, considering the Reluctance he shewed against becoming a good *Presbyterian*.

The Scots *raise an Army under* Lesley. Clarend. VI p. 375.

The *Scots* having received Advice of the Preparations in *England* for a War against them, raised an Army with all possible diligence, and gave the Command of it to General *Lesley*, not daring to trust the King for Reasons already given. He was not so much as allowed to see this Army more than once, for fear of gaining the Officers and Soldiers by his Intrigues. *Lesley* formed his Camp between *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and fortified it with such Intrenchments that he

at first to like well of carrying the War into *Scotland*, but afterwards being hourly p rſwad d by the *Presbyterian* Ministers and his own Lady, who was a great Patroness of them, he declared it was against his Conscience. Whereupon the Council of State a pointed *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, St *John* and *Whitlock* to con er with *Fairfax*, and endeavour to satisfie him of the Justice of the Undertaking. *Whitlock* gives us the Conference at length in his Memoirs; wherein though *Cromwell* and the rest of the Soldiers were very earnest with him not to lay down his Commission; yet, says *Whitlock*, there was cause to believe they did not much desire he should continue it, *Whit. Mem* p. 445.

he was not to be attacked without manifeſt Danger. 1650.

About the middle of *July* *Cromwell* put himſelf at the Head of the *Engliſh* Army, conſiſting of eighteen or nineteen Thouſand Men, and marched to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, where he publiſhed his Manifeſto. As the Enemy's Army lay encamped near *Edinburgh*, he met with but little Difficulty in his Entrance into *Scotland*. But he found the Country without Inhabitants, and every thing capable to ſubſiſt his Army conveyed away; ſo that he ſaw himſelf obliged to maintain his Soldiers with Proviſions brought on the Coaſts by his Fleet. He nevertheleſs advanced forward, and came in ſight of the Enemy's Army; but found it too well intrenched to hazard an Attack. He took therefore a Reſolution to march towards *Muſſelborough*. Whereupon *Leſley* detached a large Body of Horſe, which fell upon the *Engliſh* Reer commanded by *Lambert*, with ſome Advantage. The Day after there was a ſharp Skirmiſh in which the *Scots* beat ſome *Engliſh* Regiments; but at laſt were drove back to their Camp with conſiderable loſs. After this Succeſs, *Cromwell* once more attempted to draw the *Scotch* Army out of their Intrenchments, but his Endeavours were fruitleſs. At laſt, after ſome Weeks ſpent by the two Armies facing each other, *Cromwell* for want of Proviſion and Forrage was obliged to retire. His Deſign was to put his Foot on board his Fleet, and to return into *England* with only his Horſe. To execute this Reſolution, he marched towards *Dunbar*, where his Fleet expected him, his Army being much diminiſhed and reduced to about twelve Thouſand Men.

Cromwell enters Scotland. 22d of July.

Skirmiſhes between the Armies.

Auguſt.

He marches to Dunbar. Clarend. VI. p. 376.

The *Scots*, advertiſed of his Reſolution, imagined that the *Engliſh* Army was under a Terrour, that a more favourable Opportunity could not offer to fight, and therefore they left their Camp to follow them cloſely. The firſt Day they encamped upon a Hill at a Mile's diſtance from *Dunbar*, ſo that it was impoſſible

The Scotch Army purſues him, 1ſt September.

1650. impoſſible for *Cromwell* to ſhip off his Foot, without expoſing himſelf to the danger of being beaten. General *Leſley* was of Opinion that the *Engliſh* were not to be attacked, but only watched in order for an opportunity to ingage them with better Advantage. But the Clamours of the Miniſters which were in his Army, and promiſed a certain Victory, as if by ſome Revelation, obliged him the next Day to draw nearer to the Enemy. *Cromwell*, who obſerved them with a proſpective Glaſs, ſeeing them deſcend from the Hill, cried out, *That God had delivered them into his Hands.* He immediately ordered a Prayer to be made, and then told ſome of his Officers that he had felt, whilſt he prayed, ſuch a Repoſe in his Mind, that he made no doubt but God would give him the Victory. This was either his real belief, or an Artifice to inſpire his Soldiers with Courage, who were moſt of them *Fanaticks.* The two Armies remained facing one another all the reſt of the Day, *Leſley* always finding ſome Reaſon to delay fighting. But in the Night *Cromwell* took the Reſolution to fall upon the *Scots* at break of Day. It was a Maxim of his in fighting, and had always proved ſucceſsful, not to expect, but to fall upon the Enemy, the Aſſailants having always a great Advantage.

Battle of Dunbar *the 3d of* September.

This Reſolution being taken, he drew up his Army in the Night, and not to be prevented, begun the Fight an Hour before Day. The *Scoth* Cavalry on the Right Wing performed well at firſt; but were at laſt drove back and put to flight. The Left Wing fled without ſuſtaining one Charge. Three Regiments of *Scotch* Infantry fought with ſuch Bravery, that the greateſt Part died on the Spot, without once turning their Backs, the remainder ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the Horſe fled in Confuſion, leaving the Field, and an undoubted Victory to the *Engliſh.* It is ſaid that the *Scots* had three Thouſand Men killed, beſides ſeven or eight Thouſand made Priſoners, and that the *Engliſh* loſt no more than three

Clarend. VI. p. 276. Baker, p. 601. Bate, p. 222.

The Scotch *Army defeated.*

three Hundred. The *Scots* after their Defeat abandoned *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, of which *Cromwell* made himself Master; but the Castle held out till the end of *December*. 1650.

This Misfortune to the *Scots* was a Benefit to the King, as it brought them under a Necessity of altering their Conduct with relation to the *Hamiltonians*. When the Army lately defeated at *Dunbar* was raised, the greatest Care was used to prevent any from being admitted, who had either been concerned in the *Engagement* of the late Duke of *Hamilton*, or were suspected of Affection to the King. In a word, the rigid *Presbyterians*, who were then at the Head of Affairs, would have no Society with those whom they had called the *Luke-warm*, that is, Men not of approved Zeal for the *Covenant*. After the Defeat of *Dunbar*, there was a Thought of raising a new Army to oppose *Cromwell*, who threatened *Scotland* with entire Ruin the following Spring. The Parliament was convened for this Purpose at St. *Johnstown*'s, whither the King had retired. But as a new Army was not easily to be formed of the *Zealous*, it was proposed in Parliament to receive into this, those who had hitherto been called *Luke-warm*, who offered their Service to their Country in its present Distress. This Affair being brought to Deliberation, the Parliament was under a Necessity of coming to this Resolution, *viz.* That all who had been excluded from Places, were allowed to produce Proofs of their Repentance, and these be employed in the Service of their Country with others. In Consequence of this Resolution, those who had till then opposed the Marquiss of *Argyle*, who had faultered in their Zeal for the Covenant, who had shewn an Inclination for the King, who had even been employed by *Charles* I. ran eagerly to give outward Marks of their Repentance in a Disavowal of their past Conduct, and a Reconciliation with the *Kirk*. After this they were admitted, as well into the Parliament as to publick Employs, and principally to those of the

The Hamiltonians *admitted to Employs under Conditions.* Clarend. VI. p 393. Baker, p. 602. Bate, p. 227.

1650. Army then to be raiſed: By this the King at laſt obtained what he had ſo paſſionately deſired, the ſeeing Men attached to his Intereſts in a Condition to ſerve him, when Occaſion ſhould offer.

A Proteſtation againſt their Admiſſion. Baker, p. 602.

But the Reſolution of the Parliament, to which Neceſſity had been either the Motive or the Pretence, was not agreeable to all. The *Zealots* were not of a Temper to ſuffer Men, hitherto ſhut out from Employs, to be admitted upon the Pretence of a Reſolution obtained from the Parliament by Intrigue and Cabal, as had been before practiſed in raiſing an Army to fight againſt the Intereſts of *Scotland*. They ſaid that it was a *mocking of God* to receive the Guilty to a hypocritical Repentance, only to readmit them into Employs from which they had been juſtly excluded. But it was anſwered, that Rigour and Injuſtice were extreme to keep Men out of Employs, who offered their Service to their Country at a Juncture the moſt critical that had ever been known, and had confeſſed a Repentance for not having been ſufficiently zealous before for the Common Cauſe. In a Word, the Firſt proteſted ſolemnly againſt the Reſolution of the Parliament, and formed a Party called the *Proteſters*, whilſt thoſe who adhered to the Reſolution formed another called the *Reſolutioners*. Five weſtern Counties * joined the former, and entring into an *Aſſociation*, publiſhed a Remonſtrance, which upon its being offered to the Parliament was voted Seditious. But this did not hinder ſeveral Officers of Reputation, as *Straughan*, *Kerr*, and ſome others, from joining the Party of the *Proteſters*.

Burnet's *Hiſt. of his own time*, P 55.

Two Parties formed in Scotland.

Five Counties Proteſt.

Reflections upon the Reſolution of admitting the Hamiltonians. Clarend.

It is certain, that if the People of *Scotland* had been conſulted, this Reſolution had never paſſed in the Parliament. The People were ſo attached to the *Covenant*, that there was no likelihood of their departing from their Rigidneſs at once, in favour of Perſons

* *Chiddiſdale*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Galloway*, and *Nithiſdale*, Burn Hiſt. p. 56.

Perſons who had either never ſubſcribed it, or had made no Scruple to violate it. It is therefore very clear that this Reſolution was owing to the Artifices and Cabals of the Enemies of *Argyle*, on pretence of the Neceſſity of raiſing new Forces. Nothing is a clearer Evidence of the Repugnance of the People in general to it, than the Condition required, of teſtifying a Repentance from all who were to be admitted to any Employs. This is a Proof of the Regard had to the Body of the People, who were perſwaded that a *Luke-warmneſs* for the *Covenant* was a Crime of the deepeſt Guilt. It was therefore publickly ſaid that the Defeat at *Dunbar* was the juſt Puniſhment of having called the King, before any Proofs were given of his Repentance. This was the moſt generally received Opinion, though the Parliament had decided contrary to it. But neither in *Scotland* nor *England* are the Reſolutions of Parliament to be always conſidered as the Reſult of the Nations Sentiment in general. It is a Defect in the Conſtitution of both the *States*, that the Deputies to the Parliament receive no Inſtructions from thoſe they repreſent. The Moment they are met, they become Maſters and Sovereigns of thoſe by whom they are elected, and palm upon the Nation their own Deciſions for thoſe of the Publick, though they are ever ſo contrary (as they frequently are) to the Sentiments and Intereſts of the People repreſented. Inſtances are ſo frequent, that I need not ſtay to bring Proofs of what I advance. 1650.

The Managers of this Affair in the Parliament, well knew that the Party of the *Proteſters* was far more numerous than that of the *Reſolutioners*. It was therefore thought convenient by them to give an appearance of Satisfaction to the former, to prevent their obſtructing the Deſigns which were formed in favour of the King. One of their Projects was to put the King at the Head of an Army, almoſt wholly at his Devotion, to enable him, when he found it convenient, to march into *England*, where

1650. where he doubted not to find a great Number of Friends, and a powerful Aſſiſtance. The rigid *Preſbyterians* were therefore not to be alarmed at ſeeing the King at the Head of the Army, for fear of their concerting Meaſures to hinder the Execution of the Project. For this Purpoſe it was thought proper that the King ſhould publiſh a Declaration of a ſtrange Nature, where he was made to ſpeak a Language agreeable to the Sentiments of the People, but very contrary to his own. In this Declaration, he owned *the Sin of his Father in marrying into an Idolatrous Family:* He acknowledged *the Bloodſhed in the late Wars lay at his Father's Door:* He expreſſed *a deep Senſe of his own ill Education, and the Prejudices he had drunk in againſt the Cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible:* He confeſſed *all the former Parts of his Life to have been a Courſe of Enmity to the Work of God:* He repented *of his Commiſſion to* Montroſs, *and of every Thing he had done that gave Offence:* And with ſolemn Proteſtations he affirmed, *that he was now ſincere in his Declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his Life in* Scotland, England *and* Ireland. When this Declaration was offered him to Sign, he appeared at firſt reſolute to reject it; ſaying, *That if he ſigned, he was never more to look his Mother in the Face.* But upon a Repreſentation of its abſolute Neceſſity to gain him the Confidence of the *Proteſters*, without which he could never be in a Condition to execute his Deſigns, he ſwallowed the truly bitter Pill, and the Declaration was made Publick.

The King's ſtrange Declaration.

Burnet's Hiſt. *of his own times,* p. 56.

This Declaration procured not the Advantages which the King was made to hope from it. No Body believed that it was ſigned with his free Will, as it was ſo ſcandalous in itſelf, and ſo prejudicial to the Reputation and Memory of his Father. The *Proteſters* on the contrary imagining that he concealed ſome deep Deſign in this ſtrange Manner of Proceeding, united themſelves more cloſely againſt him: And at laſt declared that they would have no Communication

Diſappointed in his Expectations from it.

munication with the *Reſolutioners*, any more than with *Cromwell* and the *Independent* Party in *England*. 1650.

The King's Flight. Clarend. VI. p. 394. Baker, p. 601.

It was with extreme Vexation that *Charles* ſaw himſelf diſappointed in his Declaration, from which he received no other Benefit than the Loſs of the Confidence of both Parties, and of his own Reputation. All the World was perſuaded that ſo ſcandalous a Diſſimulation was a formed Deſign to overreach the People. At laſt, this falſe Step, which he had taken ſo contrary to his own Opinion, joined to the Captivity in which he was held, inclined him to liſten to Propoſitions made to him by ſome of his Friends in the *High-lands*, who would receive no Employs at the Price of an hypocritical Repentance. Theſe Gentlemen ſent a Meſſage to him, that if he would put himſelf at their Head, they would ſend to meet him at a Place appointed, a good Body of Troops to receive him. A Phyſician named *Frazier* was the Manager of this Intrigue, and took Care to convey the Letters. The King conſented to join the Malecontents, being extremely deſirous to withdraw himſelf from the *Presbyterians*, who had put ſo many Hardſhips upon him. He had prepared a Declaration, wherein he ſet forth all the harſh Treatment received from the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and the miſerable Servitude in which he had been held ſince his Arrival in *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, let into this Secret from Letters left upon the King's Table, informed the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who would not believe that the Project was ſo near its Execution. Nevertheleſs, two Day after the King having conveyed himſelf from St. *Johnſtown*, repaired to the Place appointed, but found only a Handful of Men waiting for his coming, when according to Promiſe he expected a good Body of Troops. But while he was deliberating what Meaſures it was proper for him to take, the Committee of State diſpatched *Montgomery* to him, who, with a little too much Rudeneſs, preſſed his return to St. *Johnſtown*. He followed

1650. *Is brought back,* this Advice in the Perſuaſion, no doubt, that the Perſons who had made the Invitation, were not in ſo good a Condition to receive him, as they had made him believe *.

and better treated. This Deſign, indiſcreet as it was, had one good Effect for the King, though at the ſame Time it loſt him the Confidence of the *Presbyterians*, who ſaw plainly that his Heart was not with them, and that he paid but little Regard to what he had promiſed at *Breda*. Nevertheleſs the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, and the Committee of Eſtates apprehended the deſperate Reſolutions which the King might form from too rigorous a Confinement, and the great Diſorders which ſo difficult a Conjuncture might be attended with, if the King ſhould in an Humour, put himſelf at the Head of the Malecontents. This Apprehenſion procured him better Treatment afterwards, and a greater Share in the Conduct of the Publick Affairs. The King on his Side was likewiſe made ſenſible that he was to expect no Tranquillity in *Scotland*, or any poſſibility of executing his Deſigns without the Aſſiſtance of the Marquiſs of *Argyle*, who was at the Head of the *Kirk* Party. He therefore choſe to careſs him in the moſt obliging Manner, and even to flatter him with the hopes of marrying his Daughter. But the Marquiſs, who well knew his Thoughts, looked upon theſe extraordinary Reſpects as ſo many Snares, and was therefore upon his Guard againſt them, at the ſame Time that he outwardly paid the King all becoming Duty. The Lord *Lorn* his Son, Captain of the King's Guards, did him many Services, and privately brought to him thoſe Perſons whoſe Company he was moſt deſirous of.

He careſſes Argyle.

The King crowned in Scotland. Baker, p. 603. At laſt, the King was crowned at *Scone*, the firſt of *January* 1650-1. *1, and from that Day all Perſons

* This ſudden withdrawing of the King's, was afterwards called *the Start*.

*1 And then he renewed again the *Covenant*.

Perſons without Diſtinction had acceſs to him. After this the *Scots* were wholly intent upon raiſing an Army, into which all who deſired it were received, without any exception of Party. This Army was ready in the beginning of *June*, before *Cromwell* could take the Field for want of Forrage. This Army conſiſted of fifteen Thouſand Foot, and three Thouſand Horſe. The King put himſelf at the Head of it, and had *Leſley* under him for his Lieutenant-General. As they were moſtly new-raiſed Troops, the King judged it not proper to go in queſt of *Cromwell*, who was formidable from his Courage and Experience, and was beſides at the Head of a diſciplined and victorious Army. He poſted himſelf therefore at *Torwood*, between *Edinburgh* and *Sterlin*, in a Place the moſt advantageous, having behind him (*a*) a large deep River, of which the Paſſes were all ſecured, which gave him an Opportunity of drawing Proviſions out of the plentiful County of *Fife*, whereas the Country before him was entirely laid waſte. This Army in the Front was ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that it would have been Madneſs to have attacked it. Here he reſolved to wait the Enemy's Motions, and take his Meaſures as Occaſion offered.

1650.

Puts himſelf at the Head of the Scotch *Army,*

and incamps at Torwood.

Cromwell, after he had drawn his Army together, marched directly to the King with Intention to give him Battle: But he found him ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that he thought it not proper to fall upon him. The Armies remained in their reſpective Camps about ſix Weeks, without any poſſibility for *Cromwell*, with his utmoſt Art, to draw the King out of his Trenches. The laſt Year's Experience had taught the *Scots* greater Circumſpection. At laſt, *Cromwell* unable any longer to ſtay in his Camp from the Difficulty of getting Proviſions, whilſt the County

Cromwell *dares not attack him.*

(*a*) The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the River was between the two Armies, but it is a Miſtake; for the King had the River behind him.

1651. ty of *Fife* plentifully supplied the King, resolved to make an Attempt to deprive the King of this Advantage. For he saw plainly that it was in the King's Power to avoid fighting as long as he pleased, and at the same time oblige him to spend the whole *Campaign* in a state of Inaction. With this Design he detached sixteen Hundred Men under the leading of Colonel *Overton*, who marched towards *Edinburgh* to a Place provided with Boats, passed the *Frith*, and took his Post in the County of *Fife*. *Overton* was immediately followed by *Lambert* at the Head of a more considerable Body. At the same time *Cromwell*, with the rest of the Army, advanced towards the King's Intrenchments as if with Design to attack them, in order to prevent any Detachment from the King's Army which might oppose the landing of his Forces. As soon as the King was informed that the *English* were in the County of *Fife*, he detached Major-General *Brown* with four Thousand Men to fight them. *Brown* was routed, and *Cromwell* by this had full Liberty to transport his whole Army into the County of *Fife*. By this Means he deprived the King of any further Supplies from that County.

Cromwell *enters* Fife. Baker, p. 605. Bate, p. 233.

A Detachment from the King routed.

It was indeed an Advantage to *Cromwell* thus to put the King under a Necessity of quitting a Post where he could not be attacked. But at the same time he had made it impossible for himself to fight him, because a deep River ran between the Armies which joins the Lake of *Lomund* to *Edinburgh-Frith*. The King might have passed the River because he was Master of all the Passes, but it was not thought proper to pursue *Cromwell*, who was now at a great Distance, having made himself Master of St. *Johnstown*, and threatened *Sterling*. On the contrary, the King took a sudden Resolution to march into *England*, having nothing before him capable to stop him, and pleased that *Cromwell* had given him Opportunity to form and execute a Design so convenient

Cromwell *makes himself Master of* St. Johnstown. Bate, p. 235.

ent

ent for his Intereſt. He ſaw himſelf at the Head of eighteen Thouſand Men, and doubted not a conſiderable Increaſe of his Forces when he ſhould reach *England*, from the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians* equally oppreſſed by the *Independent* Parliament. This was the Notion which the King and his Council formed of this Expedition. The Marquiſs of *Argyle* was alone of the contrary Opinion, and ſo far incurred the Suſpicion of Diſloyalty, that the King was adviſed to put him under Arreſt. But it was not thought proper to follow this Advice, from which no Advantage could be drawn. The Marquiſs therefore was left in *Scotland*, and the King put himſelf upon his March to *Carliſle* with extraordinary Diligence. He had made ſome Days March before *Cromwell* received Notice of it, and entred *England* the ſixth Day of *Auguſt*, where he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed by his Army.

1651. *The King marches into* England. Clarend. VI. p. 396.

The News of the King's March gave *Cromwell* the greater Surprize, as it was what he had never expected. He believed he had gained a conſiderable Advantage in forcing his Way into the County of *Fife*. But this had given the King an Opportunity to march into *England*, where it was very likely he would be joined by a great Number of Adherents. To avoid this was the Aim of the Parliament in carrying the War into *Scotland*. It may therefore be ſaid that *Cromwell* was guilty of an Errour, which might have been attended with very ill Conſequences to the new-modelled Common-wealth, and the governing Party. Therefore his greateſt Care was to prevent the Inconveniences which might reſult from it. As he doubted not but the Parliament would be alarmed at the News of the King's March, he made haſte to inform them of it, and withal, that he was going to purſue him cloſely. He adviſed them alſo to put the *Militia* in Arms in all Counties of the Kingdom, with all poſſible Diligence, to keep the King's Party in Awe, and prevent their joining his Army. He gave himſelf the ſame

Cromwell *diſturbed at the News of the King's March.*

Precautions and Orders of Cromwell.

1651. ſame Orders in the northern Counties, as well to hinder the *Cavaliers* from riſing, as to find a good Body of the Trained-Bands ready to reinforce his Army on his Arrival in *England*. At the ſame time he detached Major-General *Harriſon* with three Thouſand Horſe, which were to be followed by *Lambert* at the Head of another Body of Cavalry, to retard the King's March as much as was poſſible. Theſe Precautions thus taken, he left Major-General *Monk* in *Scotland* with five Thouſand Men, with Orders to endeavour to make himſelf Maſter of *Sterlin* and *Dundee*. At laſt he put himſelf upon the March, making all poſſible haſte to reach the King before he could get to *London*, not queſtioning but he would march thither without ſtopping.

The King receives but little Relief from England.

The King entred *England* full of hopes that all the Enemies of the *Independents*, as well *Presbyterians* as *Royaliſts*, would run in Crowds to join him. For this Purpoſe he ſent Colonel *Maſſy* before with a Detachment to receive all thoſe who were willing to ſerve him. He writ likewiſe to the Earl of *Derby*, then in the *Iſle* of *Man*, to repair to him, placing great Expectations in him from the Credit which he had in the County of *Lancaſhire*. But a great many Things conſpired to diſconcert his Projects. 1. In proportion as he advanced the *Scotch* Soldiers deſerted in ſuch Numbers, that it was computed four or five Thouſand returned back to *Scotland*. Theſe Deſerters were probably the zealous *Presbyterians*, who were of Opinion that they could not in Conſcience aſſiſt the King in the Recovery of *England* by Force of Arms, which was the Opinion of the greateſt Part of the *Scots*. 2. The *Militia*, every where in Arms, kept the King's Friends from coming together, by Guards placed in all the publick Roads. 3. The Committee of the *Scotch Kirk*, which had followed the Army, feared that if the King's Forces were augmented with too great a Number of *Royaliſts*, their Superiority might oblige the *Scotch* Army not only to aſſiſt in the Ruin of the *Independents*,

Baker, p. 606.

dents, but moreover in the Reſtoration of the King without any Conditions, which was directly contrary to the Intereſts of *Scotland*. In this Thought the Committee ſent to *Maſſy* a Declaration with Orders to publiſh it; ſetting forth that the King being a zealous Stickler for the *Covenant*, no Perſons were to be received into his Army who refuſed to ſign it. This was done without the King's Privity, and gave him a good deal of Vexation. He even forbad *Maſſy* to publiſh the Declaration. But the Noiſe of it having reached the moſt diſtant Parts, the Favourers of the Royal Cauſe thought it proper to keep at a diſtance, not daring to mix with the *Scotch* Army, becauſe they could not bring themſelves to a Reſolution of taking the *Covenant*. 4. The *Engliſh Presbyterians* were indeed Enemies to the *Independents*; but not ſuch Friends of the King, as to reſtore him to the Throne without a previous Aſſurance of his ratifying the Conceſſions made by the King his Father at the Treaty of *Newport*. But this not being a proper Seaſon to enter into a Negotiation of that Nature, they did not appear very eager to ſend him. 5. The Earl of *Darby*, who had been ſent by the King into *Lancaſhire*, and had there raiſed twelve Hundred Men, was defeated by Colonel *Lilburn* at the Head of ten Troops of Horſe brought from *York* to join with *Cromwell*. It was with great Difficulty that the Earl made his Eſcape to the King after the loſs of his Forces, and the Lord *Widdrington* and Sir *Thomas Tildleſly* left dead upon the Spot. This Defeat diſcouraged the King's Friends of thoſe Parts, who intended to repair to his Army.

1651.

Clarend. VI. p 400.

The Earl of Darby *defeated.* 25*th* Auguſt.

At laſt, after a very fatiguing March, the King arrived at *Worceſter*, where he was honourably received by the Magiſtrates, and ſolemnly proclaimed. He reſolved to refreſh his Army in the Neighbourhood of that City, as the Soldiers were not able to continue their March without ſome Repoſe. Probably his Deſign was to have reached directly to *London*, if

The King ſtops at Worceſter, 22*d of* Auguſt.

1651. his Army had received Reinforcements on the Road, which he expected. But on the contrary he saw his Troops much diminished by Desertion, so as to be reduced to twelve or thirteen Thousand Men, without any Prospect of their being augmented, for the Reasons before given. It is therefore likely that he durst not advance farther, and that he thought the Situation and Neighbourhood of *Worcester* were capable to keep him upon the Defensive, in case he should be attacked.

Cromwell arrives at Worcester, September 1.

While the King's Army refreshed themselves at *Worcester*, *Cromwell* was making all haste thither. His Orders for assembling the Forces and *Militia* of the North were so well obeyed, that on his Arrival in *England*, his Army was daily increased by Parties from all Quarters. By this Means, after he had joined *Lambert* and *Harrison*, he found his Army much superiour to that of the King, which lay encamped about a Mile from *Worcester*, with a Resolution to stand upon their Defence. *Cromwell* before he attacked the King's Army, thought it proper to make a Diversion on the other side the *Severn*. For this Purpose he detached *Lambert*, who marched directly to *Upton*, where was a Bridge guarded by *Massy*. This Passage was so vigorously attacked, that after a sharp Engagement, *Massy* was obliged to abandon it. Immediately after, *Cromwell* ordered part of his Army to go over to the western Side of the *Severn*, which forced the King to send some of his Forces the same way, and so to weaken that Part of his Army which was to sustain *Cromwell*'s Attack.

Gains a Passage over the Severn. Baker, p. 606.

Battle of Worcester the 3d of September. Clarend VI p. 80.

The 3d of *September*, a Day before fortunate to *Cromwell* by the Defeat of the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, he charged the Royal Army on both sides the *Severn*. After an Engagement of some Hours the King's Forces were driven back on both sides the River, and forced to retire into the Town in such Confusion, that the Entrance was forgot to be defended. The King's Sollicitations were thrown away, and incapa-

The King's Army defeated.

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ble to inſpire his now vanquiſhed Troops with Reſolution to reſiſt any longer a victorious Enemy. At laſt, his Cavalry ſeeing the Enemy breaking into the Town fled, and left the Infantry to the Mercy of the *Engliſh*. The King ſaw himſelf conſtrained to fly through St. *Martin*'s Gate, and with great Difficulty avoided falling into the Enemy's Hands. The Foot were almoſt entirely killed or taken; and the Horſe, warmly purſued, were eaſily diſperſed; ſo that the greateſt Part of the Officers and *Cavaliers* were made Priſoners. It is pretended that the *Scots* loſt about two Thouſand on the Field of Battle, and had ſeven or eight Thouſand made Priſoners, who were ſent to *London*, and there ſold for Slaves into the Plantations of the *American* Iſles. The Duke of *Hamilton* mortally wounded, died the next Day. Amongſt the principal Priſoners were General *Leſley*, the Earls of *Lautherdale*, *Rothes*, *Carnwarth*, *Kelly*, *Darby* and *Cleveland* *. 1651.

The King's flight and arrival in France. Baker, p. 609. Bate, p. 240. Clarend. Vl. p. 413.

The King, though happily eſcaped from the Defeat, was nevertheleſs under great Difficulties. It was now his Buſineſs to ſteal from the Purſuit of his Enemies; but that was no eaſie matter. He found himſelf in the Middle of *England*, which he could no longer conſider but as an Enemy's Country, though he had in it ſtill ſome Friends. He was under a Neceſſity to quit it, and find ſome way to convey himſelf beyond Sea, which then appeared impracticable. It was ſtill more dangerous to attempt a return into *Scotland*, becauſe he would probably be ſearched for more carefully on the Road than any other; and even though he ſhould ſafely reach that Kingdom, the Danger would ſtill be the ſame to him there as in *England*. The Parliament Army, victorious in that Nation, as we ſhall ſee preſently, would have afforded him no ſecure Retreat there. He therefore came to the Reſolution of getting that Night as far

* *Leſley* reached *Lancaſhire* before he was apprehended, and the reſt were overtaken and made Priſoners at *Newport* in *Cheſhire*, by a Detachment of *Lilburn*'s Horſe.

1651. as possible. Whereupon he dismissed his Attendants, who could only serve to discover him more easily, and put himself into the Hands of a trusty Guide, by whom he was habited like a Peasant, and conducted through By-Roads. In this melancholly State he spent a whole Day in a thick Tree growing near the publick Road *, from whence he saw and heard People who travelled the Road talking of him; some of them wishing he would fall into their Hands. He travelled only in the Night, his Guide concealing him by Day in Cottages where he was not known, and where his Diet generally was only a little Milk. At last, after the greatest Fatigues sustained, after infinite Dangers escaped, after a great Part of the Kingdom traversed during the Space of two Months, from *Worcester* to the County of *Sussex* *1, he took Ship, and safely arrived in *Normandy* the 22d of *October*. The Curious are referred to the Earl of *Clarendon*, who, from the Mouth of the King himself, has given us a circumstantial Account of the Methods of his Escape, and the Adventures of his Flight (*a*).

Monk *makes himself Master of* Scotland. Baker, p.

We must now return to the Transactions of *Scotland* since the two Armies left that Kingdom. While *Cromwell* was in pursuit of the King, *Monk*, in Obedience to the Orders left him, laid Siege to *Sterlin*, which held out but a few Days. This Place, one of the strongest of *Scotland*, where the Publick Records were preserved, surrendred the 14th of *August*. All the Papers and Records were sent to *London*, from whence they never returned, the Ship which

* This Tree grew in the thickest Part of the Wood, which was searched with the greatest exactness.—This Wood was either in or on the Borders of *Staffordshire*.

*1 He went in a little Bark from *Brighthemsted*, a small Fisher-Town in *Sussex*. *Whitlock* says, the King and the Lord *Wilmot* went to *London*, where they stayed three Weeks, and the King went up and down in a Gentlewoman's Habit, and at *Westminster-Hall* he saw the State's Arms, and the *Scotch* Colours. *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 488.

(*a*) See likewise *Bate's Elenchus*, and a little Book called *Boscobel*

which was to bring them back after the Reſtoration, having been caſt away. After the Surrender of *Sterlin*, *Monk* ſet down before *Dundee*, whither the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* had conveyed their beſt Effects after the Battle of *Dunbar*. During this Siege ſome *Scotch* Gentlemen gathered ſome Forces together with Deſign to relieve the Town. But a Detachment from *Monk* ſurprized and diſperſed their Troops, and took their Leaders Priſoners. Notwithſtanding this Misfortune, the Governour made a good Defence till the Town was taken by Storm the firſt of *September*, two Days after the Battle of *Worceſter*. The taking of *Sterlin* and *Dundee* were followed by that of *Aberdeen*, St. *Andrews*, and all the reſt of the Towns and Caſtles which were capable to make any Reſiſtance. Thus in a very ſhort time *Monk* reduced the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* to the Obedience of the *Engliſh* Parliament. And this was the remarkable Conſequence of the King's Reſolution to conduct the *Scotch* Army into *England* *. 1651.

The King in great Diſtreſs. Clarend.

The Victory of *Worceſter*, and the Reduction of *Scotland* gave ſuch a Reputation to the new Republick, that every State in *Europe* either courted its Friendſhip, or dreaded its Arms. For this Reaſon the greateſt Part of the Sovereigns excuſed themſelves from making any Offers to the King, or ſupplying him with any Money, for fear of becoming ſuſpected to the Parliament. So the King ſaw himſelf reduced to great and laſting Extremities, and even to a want of common Neceſſaries. He lived at *Paris*, maintained by his Mother, who had a Penſion from the Crown; but Cardinal *Mazarin* making

* The *Scotch* Army had no Choice left, but that of either ſtarving in their own Country, or driving out *Cromwell* who had wreſted out of their Hands the County of *Fife* which gave them Subſiſtence. *Leſley* had learned at *Dunbar* what it was to fight *Cromwell* upon equal Advantages; and the King's Meaſures were ſo rational, his Expectations from his *Engliſh* Friends ſo well grounded, that no juſt Charge lies againſt him for the Diſappointment of either.

1651. his Court to the Parliament of *England*, took no Notice of the Diſtreſs of this unfortunate Prince.

Cromwell in great Credit.

On the other Hand *Cromwell*'s Reputation and Glory were arrived to that height, that after the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, that as he was Maſter of the Armies of the three Kingdoms, he was in effect Maſter of the Reſolutions of the Parliament, where no one durſt openly oppoſe him. He had beſides in the Houſe ſo great a Number of Creatures, that it was eaſie for him to bring to Effect whatever he reſolved. So that it may be truly ſaid, that he was the *Head* of the Common-wealth, whilſt he only bore the Title of General.

Power of the Common-wealth of England.

This Common-wealth was very powerful from its beginning. This appears ſtrange at firſt ſight, conſidering the great Sums of Money conſumed, and the Blood ſhed in the Civil War. But it is to be conſidered, with regard to the expence of Treaſure, that the Money had not been carried out of the Kingdom. The only Alteration that had happened was, that the Rich were become Poor, and the Poor Rich; but that had not ſunk the Capital Stock of the Kingdom. And as to the Numbers of Men ſwept away in the Civil War, it is to be farther conſidered that *England* ſwarmed with People in the Years 1642, having had no Wars to ſpeak of ſince the Death of *Elizabeth*. So that the Blood ſhed in the Civil War, had not ſo diminiſhed the Number of Inhabitants, as to weaken the Kingdom to any great degree. This is evident from the eaſineſs wherewith, in the Space of one Year, the Parliament raiſed Armies one for *Ireland*, and one more conſiderable for *Scotland*, beſides the Forces left behind in *England*. The Navy, having had no Enemies to engage during the War, was in a flouriſhing Condition. In a Word, *England* was not leſs powerful than it had been under *Elizabeth*, and might have been under *James* I. and *Charles* I. had thoſe Princes thought proper to engage in Foreign Wars. Nothing therefore was altered but the Government; and that was

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in the Hands of the moſt able Men *England* had beheld for a long while, though the Uſurpation was the moſt unrighteous. In this Reſpect *England* found itſelf in a Condition very different from what it had been under the two preceding Kings, whoſe Capacity to govern will receive but ſlender Praiſes from diſintereſted Perſons. 1651.

Cromwell returned to *London* the 12th of *September*, leading after him in Triumph his principal Priſoners, who were committed to the *Tower*, from whence *Maſſy* ſome time after found Means to eſcape. A majority of the Parliament, with the Speaker at their Head, attended by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, met him out of Town as far as *Acton*. Eight Days after the Earl of *Darby* was tryed and ſentenced by a Council of War, and beheaded at *Bolton* in the County of *Lancaſter* *. *Cromwell returns to* London. *The Earl of* Darby *executed.*

While theſe Things paſſed in *England*, the Parliament Fleet became Maſter of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, *Cornet* Caſtle in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, and the *Iſle* of *Man*. In the Month of *January* following, Sir *George Aſcough* reduced the Iſles of *Barbadoes*, then governed by the Lord *Willoughby* for the King; and the Iſles of *Mevis* and St. *Chriſtophers* ſubmitted without Oppoſition. Jerſey, Barbadoes, *and other Iſles taken by the Fleet of the Parliament.*

England now enjoying a profound Tranquillity, and *Ireland* being almoſt reduced, the Parliament entertained Thoughts of uniting *Scotland* with the Commonwealth of *England*. As the *Engliſh* had made a Conqueſt of that Kingdom, they believed they had a *The Parliament unite* Scotland *to* England.

* *James Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, confeſſed upon his Trial, the Plot for a general riſing of the *Presbyterians* in *Lancaſhire*, to join with the King; but it was diſappointed by the apprehending of Mr. *Birkenhead*. He confeſſed alſo the Matters of Treaſon charged againſt him, and ſubmitted to the Mercy of the Parliament. And for Plea, 1. He alledged, *he had Quarter given him, and therefore was not to be tried by a Court-Martial.* 2. He pleaded *Ignorance of the Acts of Treaſon ſet forth by the Parliament.* But theſe Pleas were over-ruled; and he was ſentenced to loſe his Head at *Bolton*, where he had killed a Man in cold Blood. *Whit.* p. 486.

1651. Right to impoſe their own Conditions upon it, and were under no Obligation to conſult the *Scots*, who were no longer capable to give them any Reſiſtance. An Act therefore paſſed in the *Engliſh* Parliament, which entirely aboliſhed Kingly Power in *Scotland*, and united that Kingdom to the *Engliſh* Common-wealth, with a Power to depute a limited Number of Repreſentatives to the Parliament. Commiſſioners were afterwards ſent into *Scotland* to adjuſt the Particulars of this Union. The greater Part of the *Scotch* Nobility ſeeing themſelves unable to reſiſt the Parliament, ſubmitted to their Meaſures. The Marquiſs of *Argyle* became one of the moſt zealous Sticklers for the Common-wealth, but the Clergy were very much diſſatisfied with this Union.

The Parliament afraid of Holland.

After the *Independents* had appeared openly upon the Stage, they had made a great Progreſs. They had beheaded King *Charles* I. aboliſhed the Houſe of Lords, turned the Monarchy into a Common-wealth, quaſhed the Faction of the *Levellers*, humbled the *Presbyterians*, ſubdued *Scotland*, and almoſt finiſhed the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. By the Victory obtained at *Worceſter* they ſeemed to have left the King's Condition ſo forlorn, that nothing more was to be feared from him. Nevertheleſs the *Royaliſts* were ſtill a Thorn in their Side, and gave them continual Apprehenſions. Indeed this Party appeared too weak to recover by their own Strength or Efforts; but they were not without a poſſibility of receiving Foreign Aſſiſtance. *France* and *Spain* were not dreaded by them, becauſe they were ſatisfied that the Managers of the Affairs of theſe two Kingdoms had no Intention to attempt the Reſtoration of King *Charles*; or if they ſhould be deſirous to do ſomething in his Favour, their Fleet were no Match for the Parliaments. But there was another State which gave them ſome Fear. This was the Republick of the *United Provinces*, who found themſelves in a Condition to give Aſſiſtance to the *Royaliſts*. There was even a likelihood that the Prince of *Orange*,

range, Brother-in-Law to the King, would make use of his great Credit and Influence in those Provinces to engage them in the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament. It therefore equally concerned them to prevent any Assistance to the King from *Holland*, and to keep the *Scots* from assisting the *Presbyterians*. 1651.

They try in vain to unite the two Commonwealths. Clarend. VI. p. 457.

For this Purpose the Parliament had, in the Year 1649, sent *Dorislaus* to *Holland* to propose a strict Union betwixt the two Republicks. The Assassination of that Agent at the *Hague*, before remembred, made the less Noise in *England*, because the Parliament had in View to prevent any Danger which might come from the *Dutch*, by a strict Alliance with the *States*. The Prince of *Orange* dying the *October* before, the Parliament judged the Occasion favourable to treat with the States, because the Interest of that Prince could no longer give any hindrance to the Negotiation. They sent therefore in *March* 1651 *Oliver St. John*, and *Walter Strickland* to the *Hague*, to negotiate not a bare Alliance, but such an Union as might make the two Republicks become one. This Proposal met with great Opposition from the States. First, The *English* pretended to oblige the States to a Renunciation of all their Alliances, those excepted which were common to them with the Republick of *England*. Secondly, The Conditions proposed by the *English* were of such a Nature, as left all the Advantages on their Side, with the Forces of the *United Provinces* thrown in to serve properly only to the Augmentation of those of *England*. Thirdly, If the Time of the arrival of the *English* Troops at the *Hague* be considered, it will be easily seen that the Affairs of the Parliament were not yet in a Situation to oblige the States to be contented with Conditions so little advantageous. 'Tis true indeed *Cromwell* had the Year before gained the Battle of *Dunbar*: But this was not a decisive Stroke, because the King was upon the Point of seeing himself at the Head of a new Army,

1651. Army, as he afterwards did, before the *English* Envoys left the *Hague*. Lastly, The Faction of the House of *Orange* not being yet entirely suppressed, opposed with all their Power the Union of the two Republicks, which would have over-turned all the Hopes of the young Prince, born after the Death of his Father. All these Considerations laid together were the Cause that in the Month of *July*, the *English* Envoys returned not only dissatisfied with their ill Success, but affronted by Insults on their Persons from the Rabble of the *Hague*. This let them see that the Subjects of the *States* were more Friends to the King than to the Parliament, and confirmed them in the Suspicion that the *States* waited only a favourable Opportunity, to espouse openly the King's Interest. The Account then given of their Negotiation contributed to exasperate the Parliament against the *States*. Their Resentments would perhaps have then broke out, had not the *Scotch* War found them Employment at Home. The Parliament therefore judged it convenient to dissemble their Anger till that War was terminated, to which the Battle of *Worcester*, and *Monk*'s Success in *Scotland* gave at last a prosperous Conclusion.

Very angry with the States.

But if the happy Success of this War put the Parliament in Condition to undertake another against *Holland*, it seemed on the other Hand, that the Motives to a fresh War no longer subsisted. For after the Parliament was become Master of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, there was no likelihood of any Assistance to be given to the King by the *States* of the *United Provinces*. Besides, as the Prince of *Orange* was dead, there was no Probability that the *States* would contribute to restore the King, Uncle of the young Prince, whom they designed to sink to the Level of a private Person. Nevertheless, the Parliament's Resentment against the *States* was so great, that a War was resolved upon. Pretexts were sought from Injuries said to be done to the *English* by the *Dutch* thirty Years before at *Amboyna*, and other Places in

Comes to a Resolution of declaring War against them.

Baker, p. 613.

the *Indies*. It is pretended that *Cromwell* gave his Conſent to this War, of which he ſaw no Neceſſity, in pure Complaiſance to St. *John* and ſome others, who appeared extremely incenſed againſt *Holland*. 1651.

Secret Motive to the War the ruin of Cromwell.

The ſtrong Paſſions ſhewn by the Parliament to engage in this War upon ſuch diſtant Pretences, gives room to Conjecture that there were other Motives than thoſe which were publickly pleaded. There is a great likelihood that even then ſome Members, either ſecret Enemies of *Cromwell*, or jealous of him, ſought Opportunities either to ruin him, or at leaſt conſiderably to leſſen his Power. This Power in a private Perſon appeared to them too dangerous for a Common-wealth. They had participated in his Counſels and Deſigns to ſubvert the *Presbyterian* Parliament, and therefore well knew his *Genius*, and what it was capable of. And therefore they could not help dreading, that under the ſpecious Colour of acting for the Publick, with which he covered his Ambition, he had his own Intereſt ſolely in view. They ſaw at leaſt with great uneaſineſs, that if he was forming any ambitious Deſign, nothing could hinder him from putting it in Execution as long as he was Maſter of the Army. This Support was therefore either to be taken from him, or the Common-wealth expoſed to the Deſigns of his Ambition. But it was no eaſy matter to obtain his Conſent to the disbanding of an Army which had their Dependence upon him, and his great Credit in the Parliament gave no Hopes of effecting it there, without ſome preſſing Neceſſity. It was believed therefore, that if the Republick could be engaged in a Sea-War, the great Expence of which was eaſily foreſeen, the Parliament might by degrees come into the Thought of parting with a Land-Army, to avoid an unneceſſary Charge. This Reaſoning may appear at firſt too refined; but three Conſiderations help to ſupport it. Firſt, The Cauſes alledged for this War appear not of ſufficient Weight to engage the Parliament in an Expence ſo conſiderable, at a Time

1651. Time when; on the contrary, it was ſo neceſſary to let the People taſte the Sweets of Peace, in order to make them reliſh the Republican Government which was but juſt eſtabliſhed. Secondly, It will be ſeen in the Sequel, that all the Submiſſions which the *Hollanders* offered to make, were ineffectual to obtain a Peace for them, and it was even with Difficulty that the Parliament would hear their Propoſals. This plainly ſhows that the Parliament had ſome ſecret Motive for the continuation of this War; and it is difficult to find any other than that abovementioned. Thirdly, It is certain, and will hereafter appear, that *Cromwell* at laſt was ſenſible that this War was continued only to give the Parliament an Opportunity of disbanding the Army; and that it was this Conſideration which made him reſolve to deſtroy a Parliament bent upon his Ruin. I own that it is no eaſie matter to prove that the Authors of this War againſt the *United Provinces*, had at firſt the Views I have aſcribed to them, and that as to the Beginning of the War it is only a Conjecture. But this Conjecture riſes into Proof, when it is conſidered, that in the End the principal Members joined together to humble the Power of *Cromwell*, and that the War was only continued to make the Expence of it a natural Reaſon for disbanding the Land Army, as unneceſſary for any other Uſe than that of ſupporing *Cromwell*'s Ambition.

An Act paſſed in the Engliſh *Parliament which gave riſe to the War.* Clarend. VI. p. 461. Baker, p. 613.

However this be, *Cromwell* returning victorious from *Worceſter*, as he had before done from *Ireland* and *Scotland*, roſe to ſuch Credit and Authority, that he became as it were the Soul of the Parliament and Common-wealth. Whether he did not at firſt penetrate the ſecret Motives of the projected War, or for ſome other unknown Reaſon, he readily enough conſented to the Deſign of humbling *Holland*, which was conſidered as the only Foreign Power the Parliament had to fear. But as the People were to be managed, who would not have been eaſily perſwaded of the Neceſſity of this War, it was expedi-

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ent to cauſe the *Hollanders* to be the Aggreſſors, or at leaſt to furniſh a Pretence for making War upon them. For this Purpoſe the Parliament, under Colour of encouraging Navigation, made an Act which forbad all Foreign Commodities to be brought into *England* in any other than *Engliſh* Bottoms, or ſuch as were of the Country from whence the Commodities came. By this Act, which was to commence from the firſt of *December* 1651, all Commerce between *England* and *Holland* was at an end, ſince that Commerce conſiſted only in Foreign Merchandizes which were brought from *Holland* in their own Veſſels. Beſides this, the Parliament granted *Letters of Mart* to ſeveral private Men, who complained of an unjuſt *Confiſcation* of their Ships in *Holland*. 1651.

The States *endeavour to avoid a War.*

The *States* eaſily ſaw into the Deſign of the Parliament, but far from beginning Hoſtilities, as was expected by the *Engliſh*, they ſent an Embaſſy to *London*, to ſollicite a Revocation of the Act beforementioned. The Parliament received the Ambaſſadors with Marks of Reſpect, and granted them ſeveral Audiences, in order to have it believed that it would not be their Fault if the Peace between the two Republicks were not preſerved. But when the particular Articles were to be diſcuſſed, it was plain that the Parliament was bent upon War. Inſtead of revoking the Navigation Act, ſeveral ſtale Pretenſions were revived. Satisfaction was demanded for the Maſſacre committed upon the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna* in the Year 1622; for the Loſſes ſuſtained from the *Dutch* ſince the Year 1618 in the *Indies*, *Perſia*, the Country of the *Mogul*, *Muſcovy*, *Greenland*, and the Iſle of *Poleron*. Theſe Loſſes, according to the Parliament's Eſtimation, amounted to ſeventeen Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. Beſides, a ſuitable Reparation was inſiſted on for the Murder of *Doriſlaus* committed at the *Hague*, under the Eye of the *States*, who had taken no proper Meaſures to bring the Authors to Puniſhment. It was pretended, Laſtly, That Satisfaction was to be made for the ſecret Intelligence

Pretenſions of the Parliament.

Letters of the Parliament to Forreign Princes, p. 41.

1651. Intelligence which the laſt Ambaſſadors from the *States* had held with the late King during the time of the Civil War. For theſe Satisfactions and Reparations, the Parliament offered to enter into an Alliance with the *United Provinces* upon the Terms which their Envoys had propoſed at the *Hague*.

1652. Theſe Propoſitions convinced the *States* that they were to prepare for War. Wherefore with great Care and Expence a Fleet was put to Sea of a Hundred and fifty Sail. Notwithſtanding they were unwilling to declare War againſt the Parliament, and were for having, if poſſible, the *Engliſh* Aggreſſors. For this Purpoſe, while the *States* Ambaſſadors were ſtill at *London*, their Admiral *Martin Van Trump*, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced Sea-men in *Europe*, in the Month of *May* appeared in the *Channel* with a Fleet of Forty-two Ships of War, pretending to convoy a Sail of Merchant-Men, and came and anchored in *Dover-Road*, probably with a Deſign to give the *Engliſh* a Provocation to begin Hoſtilities. Admiral *Blake*, who commanded the *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſting only of Twenty-ſix Sail, appearing in View, the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea without ſtriking their Flag; whereupon *Blake* fired three Guns without Ball for a Signal to ſtrike, to which *Trump* anſwered no otherwiſe than by drawing up his Ships in Line of Battle, and in Contempt of the Signal, diſcharged one ſingle Gun; and coming up to the *Engliſh* Admiral gave him a Broad-ſide. So the Fight begun without any certainty which Side was the Aggreſſor *. The two Admirals had poſitive Orders ſo to behave, as not to come to an Engagement without apparent Neceſſity. The *Engliſh* ſay that *Trump* had Order from the

First Sea-Engagement, May 17. Clarend. VI. p. 459.

* The Refuſal of ſtriking the Flag, and the Broad-ſide given by *Trump* to *Blake*, ſeems to put it out of all doubt that the *Dutch* were the Aggreſſors. Though *Rapin* takes this Account from the Lord *Clarendon*, yet either himſelf, or the *French* Tranſlator has ſo mangled this Paſſage, that I thought beſt to inſert it, as it is in the Author he quotes.

the *States* not to *ſtrike* to the *Engliſh*, in order to put them under a Neceſſity of beginning Hoſtilities. This is not without Probability, though the *Dutch* Authors make no mention of it *. *Blake* being reinforced with eight Ships, the Engagement laſted from four in the Afternoon till Night; the *Engliſh*, if Hiſtorians are to be credited, had not one Ship damaged, and the *Dutch* loſt two, one taken, and one ſunk. They ſay farther, that Night coming on, *Trump* drew his Fleet to the Back of the *Goodwin* Sands, and the next Morning ſailed away for *Zeland*. The *Dutch* own the Loſs of two Ships, but affirm that the *Engliſh* had ſix ſunk, and that the Night only ſaved their Fleet from entire Deſtruction. It is difficult to come at the Truth in ſuch contradictory Accounts, eſpecially when Sea-Engagements are the Subject. It ſeems nevertheleſs, that the Conſternation at *London* occaſioned by this Battle, and the Inſults offered to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors from the Populace, ſo as to cauſe Guards to be given them by the Parliament, diſcovered an uneaſineſs and diſſatisfaction there *1. 1652.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, well acquainted with the Intention of their Maſters, endeavoured, in an Audience obtained of the Parliament, to make the Battle the pure Effect of Chance. On the other Hand, the *States* diſpatched to the Parliament an Ambaſſador Extraordinary, to move for an Accommodation. The Perſon was *Adrian Paw*, who had been Plenipotentiary

A Succeſsful Ambaſſy from the States, July.

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, who govern the Maritime Affairs without Communication with the *States-General*, ordered *Trump* not to ſtrike, Vol. VI. p. 455.

*1 Our Hiſtorians ſay, that the Conſternation was on the Side of the *Dutch*. Their immediate Applications for an Accommodation are ſome Proof of this, and the Inſults upon their Ambaſſadors prove only, either that the Rabble of *London* thought they had a right to affront Perſons pretending to treat of a Peace, at the Time that their Maſters were committing unprovoked Hoſtilities againſt us, or that they were become Inſolent with the News of their Countrymens Succeſs.

1652. potentiary at the Peace of *Munster*. But the Parliament insisting upon the same Terms as were proposed before the Rupture, the *States* recalled their July. Ambassadors, and resolved to continue the War, which was the only way they had to come at Peace.

Manifesto's from both the Nations. Augusst. A Manifesto was published by them, in which it was pretended that the Parliament had begun the War without any Provocation given by them; and the Parliament answered in another, wherein were set forth all those Occasions of Complaint above-mentioned. To this was added the Refusal of the *Dutch* to *strike*, which was a Right the Parliament resolved to maintain, whatever might be the Consequence.

The Right of the Flag insisted on by the English, *and replied to by the* States. The *States* replied to this, that it was true indeed, Their Republick in its Infancy, had paid this Compliment to the Royal Dignity, at a time when *England* was under the Dominion of a King, but they could not believe themselves obliged to pay the same Respects to that Nation now, when it had changed its Monarchy into a Common-wealth. After all, this was by no Means the true Ground of the War. But these *Manifesto's* were necessary to vindicate the Rulers of both Republicks, and to impose a Belief upon the Subjects, that they were not plunged into these extraordinary Expences to support a War, without the most evident Necessity.

Van Trump's Fleet dispersed by a Tempest. Augusst. *New Hist. of* Holland. The War being sufficiently declared, as well by the *Manifesto's*, as a Battle already fought, *Van Trump* put to Sea with a Fleet of seventy Sail, while *Van Gallen* sailed to the *Mediterranean* to fight the *English* there. *Trump's* Design was to engage Admiral *Ayscough* who lay in the *Downs* with part of the *English* Fleet. But while he was waiting an Opportunity to execute his Intent, Admiral *Blake* with forty Ships sailed to the northward, in order to fall upon the *Herring*-Fleet, and the Men of War which were to convoy them. *Trump* informed of this his Design, pursued him closely, and overtook him off of *New-Castle*; but while he was preparing for the Fight, a furious Tempest so dispersed and shattered his

his Fleet, that he was able to bring no more than Forty into the Ports of *Holland*. The reſt that eſcaped being wrecked, did not reach the *Texel* till ſome Weeks afterwards. 1652.

Engagement between Ruyter *and* Ayſcough *16th of* Auguſt.

Much about the ſame time *Ruyter* convoying a Fleet of Merchant-men with Thirty-four Ships, was met by Sir *George Ayſcough*, and a furious Engagement enſued, which was bravely fought on both Sides, till *Ayſcough* at laſt was forced to ſtand in for *Plymouth*, and leave *Ruyter* an open Paſſage to convoy his Fleet into *Holland*.

Van Gallen *killed*, March.

While they were fighting in the *Channel*, *Van Gallen* fell upon the *Engliſh* in the *Mediterranean* and beat their Fleet: But his Victory coſt him his Life, which he loſt in the Engagement.

The Engliſh *formidable at Sea, take great Numbers of the Enemy's Ships.*

In the mean time the *Engliſh* put to Sea with a formidable Fleet, and made themſelves Maſters of the *Channel*, ſo that the *Dutch* Fleet durſt not look out. During which time a conſiderable Number of *Dutch* Veſſels returning for *Holland* without knowing the War was begun, fell into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and amongſt others, a Fleet of forty Sail from *Portugal*, and ſix from the *Indies* richly laden.

Trump *ſails to the Iſle of* Rhé.

Whereupon the *Dutch*, to expoſe no longer their Merchants to ſuch great Loſſes, gave Notice to the Merchant-men which were returning for *Holland*, to ſail to the Iſle of *Rhé*, where a Fleet would be ready to convoy them. Purſuant to this Project *Trump* left the *Goree* the firſt of *December* with ſeventy Men of War and ſix Fire-Ships, and encountered *Blake*, who expected him in the *Channel*. The Fight laſted from eight in the Morning till Night, when Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet made Sail towards the *Downs*, and the remainder ſailed into the *Thames*. *Blake* being wounded in the Engagement, his Fleet was in ſome diſorder, and *Trump* upon it continued his Voyage.

Fight in the Channel.

The Duke of Glouceſter *ſent out of the Kingdom.* February 1652-3.

From the Death of *Charles* I. the *Duke* of *Glouceſter* his third Son had been confined in the Iſle of *Wight*, and brought up as a private Gentleman; they who had

1652. the Charge of his Education having received expreſs Orders not to pay him any Reſpects, which might put him in Mind that he was the Son of a King. Now the Parliament reſolved to ſend him out of the Kingdom, for which Purpoſe he was conducted to *Dunkirk*, from whence he paid a Viſit to his Siſter the Princeſs of *Orange* at *Breda*, and then repaired to the King his Brother at *Paris*.

A Sea-Engagement which laſted three days, Feb. 28. O. S. In the Month of *February Blake* again put to Sea, being aſſiſted at his own Requeſt with *Monk* and *Dean*, the former being called out of *Scotland* for that Purpoſe. The Intention of the three Admirals was to fall upon *Trump* in his return from the Iſle of *Rhé*, with the three hundred Merchant-Ships he was to convoy from thence to *Holland*. The *States* informed of the great Preparations made in *England*, had provided on their Side, twenty Ships to join their Admiral in his Paſſage home, but could not effect their Purpoſe by Reaſon of contrary Winds. In the mean time *Trump* having got into the *Channel*, and conducting his Sail of Merchant-Men along the Coaſts of *France*, met the *Engliſh* Fleet, much ſuperiour to his own in Number of Ships. But finding himſelf too far advanced to draw back, a furious Engagement began, which continued three ſucceſſive Days, and had been renewed the fourth, had the Ships on either Side been in a Condition to ſuſtain a freſh Encounter. The *Dutch* loſt in this Engagement eighteen Men of War, and eight Merchant-Men. But their Hiſtorians pretend, that one and twenty Ships of the Enemy were ſunk, and three run aſhore. Each Side challenged the Victory. However that be, *Trump* convoyed his three Hundred Merchant-Men into *Holland*, the eight excepted which fell into the Hands of the Enemy. After he had ſecured the Merchant-Men, he engaged the *Engliſh* four ſeveral times more, but theſe Actions were of leſs Importance than the foregoing.

1652-3.

18*th of* February.

Shortly

Shortly after, the King imagining that he had a great many Friends amongſt the Commanders of the *Engliſh* Fleet, made an Offer to the *States* of putting himſelf aboard their Fleet, if he might have the Command of the *Engliſh* Ships, which ſhould come over to him. But the *States* thought not fit to accept his Offer. It was looked on by them as an Artifice of the King's to engage them in an avowed Declaration in his Favour, which, conſidering their preſent Circumſtances they had no manner of Inclination to. Peace was their Aim and Intereſt, and they were not willing to remove the Proſpect of it at a diſtance, or even render it impoſſible by eſpouſing the King's Cauſe. They even found a way to have a Letter privately put into the Hands of *Lenthal* the Speaker, which came from the *States* of *Holland*, to propoſe an Accommodation. Some ſay that this was owing to a private Intimation from *Cromwell*, who began to diſcover that Peace was now wanted to ſecure his own Intereſts. He had the Addreſs to obtain from the Parliament a Civil Anſwer to the Letter put into the Hands of *Lenthal:* But the Anſwer was directed to the *States General.* This drew from the *States* an open Demand of Peace by a Letter dated the 30th of *April*, in which it was deſired that the Parliament would pleaſe to name a Place for a Treaty.

1652-3. *The King offers to put himſelf aboard the* Dutch *Fleet.* 1653. Clarend. VI. p. 462. *His Offer rejected.*

The States *ſue for a Peace.*

Cromwell at laſt perceived that the continuation of the War was the Contrivance of his Enemies, as a Means to have the Army disbanded, on pretence of their being an unneceſſary Charge; and the Houſe was well inclined to come into the Project. This tended manifeſtly to ſap the Foundation of his Credit; for though his excellent Qualities were acknowledged; though his Valour and Capacity had raiſed the Common-wealth to its preſent Grandeur, yet he was ſtill the Object of the Parliament's Fears. Had he been unſupported by the Army, his Ruin had been infallible, ſo much was his Credit dreaded, leſt it ſhould riſe from its preſent envied Greatneſs, ſtill

Deſigns againſt Cromwell; Clarend. VI. p. 101.

1653. higher to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth. *Cromwell* himself had private Information, that a Conspiracy was forming against him, in which were engaged not only many *Presbyterians* and *Royalists*, but even some considerable Members of the House, though of the *Independent* Party. Affairs therefore were in such a Situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued or himself ruined. Such a Choice holds not ambitious Minds long in suspense. *Cromwell*, much out of Humour to see his Services in a way to be requited with such Ingratitude, easily determined to risque every thing to make himself Master of the Parliament, rather than become their Slave, who properly speaking owed all their Power to him.

which bring him into a Necessity of destroying the Parliament.

Cromwell's Measures to support his Authority.

I have already said that the Parliament was entirely supported by the Army, and by their Means it was that they held the Nation in subjection. But after the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, *Cromwell* had acquired the Esteem and Affections of the Officers and Soldiers to such a degree, that they no longer supported the Parliament any farther than as their Interests were confounded with those of their General. The leading Members saw this clearly, and therefore had laid the Design of disbanding the Army, to ruin *Cromwell* with greater Ease and Security. But a Project of this Nature was not to be long hid from the searching Eyes of *Cromwell*. As soon as he discovered it, he judged that there was no other way to maintain his own Power, than by withdrawing the Confidence of the Army from the Parliament, and then it would be no difficult Undertaking to accomplish their Ruin. This was the same Method exactly which himself and other *Independents* had practised to ruin the *Presbyterian* Parliament. He therefore by his Artifices effected, that the Officers of the Army in a General-Council drew up a Petition, and presented it to the Parliament, in which they demanded "the Arrears of their Pay, "or more exact Payment of the Army in time to "come,

Petition of the Officers to the Parliament.

Clarend. VI. p. 476. Baker, p. 617.

" come, that they might not be compelled to take " free Quarter upon their fellow Subjects, who al- " ready paid ſo great Contributions and Taxes, " which they were well aſſured if well managed " would defray all the Charges of the War and of " the Government." 1653.

The Parliament, as *Cromwell* had foreſeen, complained of the Inſolence of this Petition, and ordered a Reprimand to the Officers for their Preſumption, to intermeddle in Affairs which belonged not to them, and to arraign the Parliament's Management of the Treaſury. This drew from the Army a ſecond Petition, which put the Houſe in Mind of ſome former Profeſſions they had made, " That they " would be glad to be diſſolved, and that there might " be ſucceſſive Parliaments to undergo the ſame " Trouble they had done. They therefore deſired " them to remember how many Years they had " ſate, and though they had done great Things, yet " it was an Injury to the reſt of the Nation to be " utterly excluded from bearing any Part in the " Service of their Country, by their ingroſſing the " whole Power into their Hands: And thereupon " they beſought them that they would ſettle a " Council of War for the Adminiſtration of the " Government during the Interval, and then diſ- " ſolve themſelves, and ſummon a new Parliament; " which, they told them, would be the moſt " popular Act they could perform." *They demand its Diſſolution.* Clarend. VI. p. 477.

This Remonſtrance, intended to exaſperate the Parliament, appeared nevertheleſs very juſt in itſelf, and agreeable to the general Sentiments of the Nation. This will be evident, when it is conſidered in what manner the Members which compoſed this Parliament had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Supreme Authority, with what Violence they had treated their Collegues; brought the King to a tragical End; changed the Monarchy into a Common-wealth; and impoſed Taxes upon the People to ſupport an unneceſſary War, all which had juſtly rendred them

1653. odious to the whole Kingdom. They were ſenſible of this themſelves: But beſides that it was very mortifying to them to deveſt themſelves of an Authority which had ſo many Charms, they had cauſe to fear that an Account would be demanded of their paſt Actions. They were therefore not in the Humour to quit Poſſeſſion, and yet could not avoid deliberating in a ſolemn manner upon the Petition, which was of a Nature not to be neglected. In this Debate all the Members, who had Employs in the Army, ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Petition. The *Presbyterians* who had been received into the Houſe upon their ſwearing to the *Ingagement*, were of Opinion that the Parliament ought to diſſolve themſelves, ſince it was not to be doubted, but that the People in general were for it. But the Plurality of Voices carried it for the contrary Opinion. It was therefore reſolved that it was not ſeaſonable to diſſolve this Parliament, while ſuch Affairs remained upon their Hands, as were not to be left unfiniſhed, and particularly ſo important a War depending againſt *Holland*. That nevertheleſs the *Speaker* ſhould iſſue out Writs for filling the vacant Seats in the Houſe. At the ſame time a Committee was appointed to prepare, with all haſte, a Bill by which all Perſons were forbid to preſent any more ſuch Petitions under Pain of being declared guilty of High-Treaſon.

The Parliament votes againſt a Diſſolution,

and prepares an Act to forbid ſuch Petitions.

Cromwell *diſſolves the Parliament,* April 20. Clarend. VI. p 478. Baker, p. 618. Bate, p. 267.

This was what *Cromwell* expected from the Parliament. A Declaration ſo expreſs left no room to doubt but that the Members who had ſate more than twelve Years, and had committed ſo great Abuſes in the Exerciſe of their Power, would always retain the Supreme Authority in their Hands, under Colour of their being the Repreſentatives of a Republick; which, properly ſpeaking, conſiſted only of themſelves. *Cromwell* therefore very certain that this Parliament was odious to the People, and not leſs diſagreeable to the Army, believed that he had no longer any Meaſures to keep with Men, who were intent

tent upon his Ruin. After all Things had been concerted with the principal Officers, he came to the Houſe the 20th of *April* with a ſmall Retinue of Officers and Soldiers, and without any Ceremony told the Members that he came to put an End to their Power, of which they had made ſo ill a Uſe; and that therefore, without more Deliberation, they were to depart immediately. The Officers and Soldiers entred at the ſame time, and ſtayed at the Door till the Members walked out. *Cromwell* as they came by him, called one a Drunkard, another a Robber, with the like ſevere Invectives againſt all his Enemies. After this he gave the Speaker's Mace to one of his Officers, and locked the Door *. This Step was extraordinary, but was no more than had been done a few Years before by General *Fairfax*, when he drove out and impriſoned the Members which were diſagreeable to the Army. 1653.

Reflections upon this Action of Cromwell.

It cannot yet with certainty be affirmed, that *Cromwell* by this Proceeding had pulled off the Mask. One might ſtill hope that he had yet good Intentions towards the Publick, ſince he had only delivered the Nation from a Parliament, which had ſo long held them in Servitude. And had he after this called a free Parliament, to which he had paid a Submiſſion himſelf, the People would have heaped Bleſſings upon him. But the Sequel made it clear, that he was only taking this Pains for himſelf. And yet if it is conſidered that the Nation was divided into

* *Whitlock*, who was preſent, ſays, *Cromwell* led into the Houſe a File of Muſqueteers with him, and in a furious Tone bid the Speaker leave his Chair, and told the Houſe, *They had ſate long enough, unleſs they had done more good, that ſome of them were Whoremaſters,* (*looking towards* Harry Martin *and Sir* Peter Wentworth) *others of them were Drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt Men, and ſcandalous in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit any longer, and deſired them to go away.* Whereupon among all the Parliament-Men, of whom many wore Swords, and would ſometimes talk big, not one offered to draw againſt *Cromwell*, but all tamely departed the Houſe. He bid one of his Soldiers *take away that Fool's Bauble the Mace. Whit.* p 529.

1653. three Parties, each mortally hating the other two; it is not eaſie to conceive, that a Parliament however free, would have been able to have given Peace and Settlement to the Nation. It was by no Means poſſible to find Expedients to content three Parties of Intereſts and Principles ſo oppoſite, as well in Point of Government as Religion. Only a Force, by giving a Superiority to one of the three, was capable to hold in Subjection the other two. This doubtleſs was not forgot by *Cromwell*, and therefore he took the Reſolution to model the Government after his own way, and when this was done, ſupport it by Force, without any regard to the chimerical Project of contenting the whole World. He ſaw that it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Supreme Authority capable of commanding Obedience, without which all would run into Confuſion; that this Authority was to be ſupported by the Army, and without doubt he believed himſelf more capable than any Man to manage the Reins of Government. I pretend not here to juſtifie all the Actions of this great Man, whoſe Ability was never conteſted; but only to let the Reader ſee that, in this Conjuncture, he could have taken no other Courſe, without throwing all back into the moſt terrible Confuſion that can be imagined. Since therefore as Matters then ſtood, *England* was to be governed by force, was it more inconvenient to ſee the Nation ruled by the greateſt General and Stateſman they had for a long while beheld, than by a Parliament, whether *Independent* or *Presbyterian*, or by a King intoxicated with deſpotick Power? The People had made trial of theſe three ſeveral Governments, and found them inſupportable. A fourth therefore was to be tried, as Things were reduced to this paſs, that the other three were neither poſſible nor proper to be ſubmitted to. This ſuppoſed, it is not to be denied, that *Cromwell* was more capable to govern this Great State, than any other Man then living in *England*. No Objection could be raiſed againſt him, which might

might not, with more Juſtice, have been urged againſt any other Man who ſhould have ſeized the Government, or any Body of Men inveſted with the Supreme Power. If on certain Occaſions he abuſed his Authority, if in his Actions he had only a View to his own Glory and Intereſt, this is what I pretend not to vindicate. 'Tis however certain that Things have been a good deal aggravated on this Head, and that a wrong Turn has been given to ſome of his Actions, which with diſintereſted and unprejudiced Perſons, are capable of an eaſie Vindication. All the Difficulty in this Affair lies in the Suppoſition made by each of the three Parties, that their Scheme of Government was the beſt and moſt perfect. But as *Cromwell* choſe none of theſe Schemes, therefore the three Parties were all equally incenſed againſt him. The *Independents*, fond of their Democratick Scheme, which at laſt is only an empty Name, were enraged at him for having overturned a Building which he himſelf had erected. The *Preſbyterians* could have wiſhed he would have put the Parliament again upon the Foot that it ſtood in the beginning of the Year 1648, when themſelves were Maſters; and therefore he was not to be forgiven by them for having rejected a Form of Government, in their Opinion, the moſt natural. The *Cavaliers* or *Royaliſts* were diſſatisfied that *Cromwell* had diſſolved the *Independent*, without reſtoring the *Presbyterian* Parliament. And to ſatisfie them, he muſt have reſtored the King to his Throne, and the *Church* of *England* to all her *Rights*. It is left to the Reader's Judgment, if in the preſent ſituation of Affairs in *England*, the three Parties deſired any Thing either juſt, proper or practicable. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if the three Parties *England* was then divided into, were equally diſpleaſed with *Cromwell*'s Proceedings, and equally loaded him with Accuſations and Invectives. 1653.

Cromwell juſtifies his Conduct in a Declaration. Clarend. VI. p 479.

A little after *Cromwell* publiſhed a Declaration to juſtifie the Diſſolution of the Parliament, and as his Deſigns

1652. Designs were not yet manifested, this Declaration was signed by the Colonels of the Army, and all the Sea-Captains, and met with general Approbation.

The Parliament being thus dissolved, the Sovereign Power was of Necessity to be lodged in some Hand or other. *Cromwell* might have taken the Administration of the Government upon himself, by the same Authority that he had dismissed the Parliament. But he had no Design to turn Usurper in a manner so notorious. He had formed a Scheme that the Parliament should as it were put the Government into his Hands, in order to dazzle the Eyes of the Publick with so venerable an Authority. The Council of Officers, who had presented the Petition to the Parliament still continued sitting, and *Cromwell* brought them to a Resolution, that a Hundred forty-four Persons should be intrusted with the Supreme Power. In the Choice of these Persons *Cromwell* at once displayed his Abilities, and discovered that he had some Design, which, concealed as it then was, would at a proper Season shew it self. They were all Persons low and obscure in Birth, with no particular Merit, no experience in Affairs, and in short, utterly incapable of an Employ of this Consequence. *Cromwell* easily foresaw that they would soon grow tired, and find themselves obliged to put the Government into his Hands, and so furnish him with a Pretence to assume it to himself. This fine Choice being made, he writ to each particular Member, to require his Presence at *Whitehall* the 4th of *July*, to take into their Hands the Administration of the Government *.

Makes Choice of 144 Persons to take Care of the Government. Bate, p. 269.

These

* After a short Preamble the Letter ran thus:

" I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief " of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised within this " Common-wealth, do hereby summon and require you (being " one of the Persons nominated) personally to appear at the " Council-Chamber at *White-hall*, within the City of *Westminster*, " upon the 4th of *July* next ensuing the Date hereof, then and " there

These new Sovereigns being met on the Day appointed, *Cromwell* opened the Assembly with a Speech, and when it was ended gave them an Instrument signed by himself and the principal Officers of the Army, by Virtue whereof the Supreme Power was lodged in their Hands. This Instrument imported, that all these Members, or any Forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Territories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and Subjection to the 3d Day of the Month of *November*, which should be in the Year 1654, that is to say, during one Year and four Months; that three Months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make Choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one Year, and then they were likewise to provide and take Care for a like Succession in the Government. But it will be immediately seen that *Cromwell* had no Intention to have his Regulation exactly observed. These Members, thus impowered, made no Scruple to call themselves a Parliament, and made Choice of one *Rouse* * for their Speaker. The whole Nation was amazed to find themselves under the Dominion of Men who were, most of them mean Artificers, or retail Merchants *1. Amongst these Members was one *Barebone* a Leather-Seller, who in his Neighbourhood went for a notable Speaker, from his entertaining

1653. *Delegates the Government to them by an Instrument.* Clarend. VI. p. 214. Baker, p. 619.

They assume the Name of a Parliament.

" there to take upon you the Trust unto which you are hereby
" called and appointed, to serve as a Member of the County of—
" and hereof you are not to fail." *O. Cromwell.*
Given under my Hand and Seal
the 8th Day of *June*, 1653. *Whit. Mem.* p. 532.

* An old Gentleman of *Devon*, Provost of *Eaton*.

*1 It was much wondered by some that these Gentlemen, *many of them being Persons of Fortune and Knowledge*, would at this Summons, and from these Hands, take upon them the Supreme Authority of this Nation, considering how little Authority *Cromwell* and his Officers had to give it, or these Gentlemen to take it; but it was accepted by them. *Whit. Mem.* p. 534.

1653. taining them with long Harangues upon the Subject of the Times. From this Man the People, in Deriſion, called this *Barebone's Parliament* *. I ſhall take leave of this ridiculous Aſſembly for a Moment, which did nothing worth remembring, to reſume the recital of the War and other Affairs between *England* and the *United Provinces*.

Are called in Deriſion, Barebone's *Parliament.*

A Letter from the States *anſwered by the Council of State, 6th of* May.

The Letter writ by the *States-General* to the Parliament the 20th of *April*, the Day on which the Parliament was diſſolved, was referred to the Council of State, eſtabliſhed by *Cromwell* and his Officers, till the new Parliament could aſſemble. This Council, under the Direction of *Cromwell*, gave a favourable Anſwer to the *States*, and Hopes of a Peace upon ſending Plenipotentiaries to *London*.

The States *appoint Ambaſſadors to negotiate a Peace.*

The *Engliſh* Affairs were then in a ſtate of uncertainty, of which it was difficult to gueſs what would be the Iſſue. *Cromwell* had, by his ſole Authority, diſſolved the Parliament, and named a Council of State to govern the Kingdom, with no other Right than that derived from the Army-Officers. It was therefore not very proper for the *States* either to treat of, or conclude a Peace with Men ſo meanly impowered. But the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the greateſt Sufferers by the War, were reſolved to have a Peace at any rate. At laſt, after great Conteſts and Struggles, the *States-General* named four Ambaſſadors to go and negotiate a Peace at *London*.

A Fight between the two Fleets the 2d of June, Trump *beaten.*

While their Inſtructions were preparing, the Fleets of the contending Nations met the 2d of *June*, and came to an Engagement, which was renewed the next Day. In this laſt Engagement *Trump* fighting with great Diſadvantage, was under a Neceſſity of retiring in Diſorder, after he had loſt many Ships either ſunk or taken by the Enemies *1.

After

* His Name was *Praiſe-God Barebone*, from whom, he being a great Speaker in it, the Parliament was called as above.

*1 The *Engliſh* Fleet was at firſt commanded jointly by *Blake*, *Monk* and *Dean*. *Dean* was killed, and the Engagement which followed *Monk* commanded alone.

After this Engagement, the *Engliſh* Fleet being reinforced to the Number of a Hundred Ships, ſaw it ſelf ſome time Miſtreſs of the Sea, and gave frequent Alarms to the Coaſts of *Holland*. At laſt, *Trump* having repaired his Fleet as much as the Time would allow, came out to ingage the *Engliſh* once more near the *Texel*, though he was much inferiour both in the Number and Largeneſs of his Ships. The Fight continued from Morning till Night without any conſiderable Advantage to either Side. It was renewed the next Day with the ſame Fury, *Trump* being reinforced with twenty ſeven Ships, nor did this ſecond Day decide the Victory. The third Day opened with a freſh Engagement, in which *Trump* was killed by a Musket-Ball. But Vice-Admiral *De Witzen* was not diſcouraged from continuing the Fight, till the two Fleets, as if by conſent, ſtood away to their own Coaſts, unable to fight any longer. The Loſs on both Sides was very conſiderable, and neither of them had any good Reaſon to boaſt of the Victory; but the loſs of the *Admiral* was irreparable to *Holland* *.

1653. *Another Fight which continued 3 Days, the firſt the 8th of* Auguſt.

Trump killed.

The two Fleets retire.

Cromwell took Care to repair the *Engliſh* Fleet, in hopes of receiving ſome Advantage from the Conſternation which the Death of *Trump*, the Loſs of ſo many Ships, and the Diviſion then reigning amongſt the *United Provinces*, had thrown them into; but a violent Tempeſt damaged his Fleet ſo, that he ſaw himſelf

The Engliſh *put to Sea again.*

Their Fleet damaged by a Storm.

* This War ought not to be diſmiſſed without one Remark, *viz.* That both Nations challenged the Victory in almoſt every Engagement. The *Dutch* Writers, from whom *Rapin* chiefly copies, leave the *Engliſh* very little ſhare of Succeſs, except where the *Dutch* are far inferiour in Number, or Tempeſts interpoſe to prevent the coming of their Ships to join the great Fleet. The *Engliſh* pretend the quite contrary, and make their own Succeſſes ſo conſiderable, that the Common-wealth of *Holland* ſeems to be upon the Point of its Ruin. It is however worth remarking, that the *Dutch* firſt ſued for Peace, and the Terms on which they received it were ſo hard, that if their Succeſſes were ſuch as their Hiſtorians have repreſented, no Nation was ever leſs elated with Triumphs, or leſs deſerved ſuch ungenerous Uſage.

1653. himself under a Necessity of either coming to a Peace, or loading the People with new Taxes, which, in his present Situation, was altogether improper; he listened therefore to the Propositions made by the *States*, and the whole following Winter was spent in this Negotiation.

Peace negotiated at London.

Barebone's Parliament had done nothing considerable in a Session of more than five Months. Nor was it called together with any such Intention. At last, the 22d of *December*, the Speaker, and a good Body of the Members, who had been let into the Secret of *Cromwell*'s Intentions, being assembled sooner than usual, one of them rose up and said, That Men of their Abilities were unequal to the weight laid upon them. He therefore proposed to them a Dissolution of themselves, and a re-delivering of the Sovereign Authority into the Hands from which it was received. This Proposal met with a ready and unanimous Approbation. Then the Speaker and all the present Members, without waiting for those who were yet absent, left their Seats, and went directly to *Cromwell* and the Council of Officers: To whom they declared, that finding themselves incapable of the Trust reposed in them, they came to deliver back the Instrument they had received, and to pray them to take the Government into their own Hands. Thus *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers saw themselves invested with the Supreme Power, by that Parliament on which themselves had conferred its pretended Authority. It is manifest that this had been resolved from the Moment that the Parliament had been convened, in order to derive a Parliamentary Authority to those Persons, who had by their own Power dissolved the preceding Parliament. This Cheat was so gross, that *Cromwell*'s hope of imposing upon the People by it is amazing. But any Absurdity is swallowed, when it is forced down by uncontrolled Power.

The Parliament returns the Sovereign Power into the Hands of the Officers. Clarend. VI p. 484. Baker, p. 620.

The Council of Officers invests Cromwell *with the Dignity of* Protector. Clarend. VI p. 484.

Two Days after the Council of Officers, by Virtue of the Power conferred on them by the preceding Parliament,

Parliament, declared that for the future the Government of the Republick ſhould reſide in one ſingle Perſon; namely, That of *Oliver Cromwell*, General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; who ſhould have the Title of *Protector* of the three Kingdoms, and be aſſiſted by a Council of Twenty-one Perſons. 1653.

Inſtrument of Government. Baker, p. 620. Bate, p. 272. Whit. p. 552.

The 16th of *December* the Council of Officers called before them the Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and after they had informed them that *Cromwell* was made *Protector*, he cauſed to be read in their Preſence a Writing called the *Inſtrument* of *Government*, which contained in Subſtance, I. A Parliament to be called every three Years by the *Protector*. II. The firſt to aſſemble on the 3d of *September* 1654. III. No Parliament to be diſſolved till it have ſate five Months. IV. Such *Bills* as are offered to the *Protector* by the Parliament, if he aſſent not in twenty Days, to be Laws without him. V. That his Council ſhould not exceed the Number of One and twenty, nor be leſs than Thirteen *. VI. That immediately after the Death of *Cromwell*, the Council ſhall chuſe another *Protector* before they riſe. VII. That no *Protector* after the preſent ſhall be General of the Army. VIII. The *Protector* ſhall have Power to make War and Peace. IX. That in the Interval of Parliament the *Protector* and his Council may make ſome Laws which ſhall be binding to the Subject, till the ſucceeding Parliament. After this Act was read, *Cromwell* took an Oath to obſerve it to the utmoſt of his Power. He was then conducted to *Whitehall* in great State, *Lambert* carrying the Sword before him, and from

Cromwell *takes an Oath to obſerve it.*

* The firſt Council choſen in purſuance of this Inſtrument were, Colonel *Montague*, Colonel *Lambert*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Colonel *Deſborough*, *Gilbert Pickering*, *Anthony Aſhley Cowper*, *Charles Wolſy*, Baronets, Major General *Skippon*, *Walter Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, *Francis Rouſe*, *John Lawrence*, *Richard Major*. The Reader may ſee the *Inſtrument of Government* at large in *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 552.

1653. from that Time he assumed the Title of *Highness* and *Lord Protector*. Immediately after he was proclaimed as such at *London*, then in the three Kingdoms, which formed only one State. The City of *London* invited him to a magnificent Entertainment, and paid him the same Honours which had been customary for Kings to receive on the same Occasions.

Assumes the Title of Highness.

Invited by the City to an Entertainment.

Reflections upon Cromwell's Advancements.

Thus *Cromwell*, whose Birth seemed to have placed him at an infinite Distance from it, found a Way to Sovereign Power. When we reflect on the Proceedings of the *long Parliament* against the late King, the Methods they used to effect his Ruin, their obstinate Refusal of Peace on any other Conditions than that of abolishing the established Church, and reducing the regal Power to almost nothing, the Politick Conduct of the *Independents* in concealing themselves amongst the *Presbyterians*, not shewing their Designs till the King was no longer in a Capacity to hurt either, their Artifices to bring over the Army to their Interest, their Tyranny against the *Presbyterians* and the King himself; and when to these Considerations is added, that *Cromwell* in the propereſt Season put himself at the Head of this Party, one is inclined to believe that the Project of his Elevation was formed from the beginning of the long Parliament, and that every Thing since acted, was only the Consequence of that Design. Accordingly this is the Insinuation and Reasoning of those, who will have it that the Persecution raised against *Charles* I. was begun and carried on only to facilitate this Project. But when on the other Hand we consider that it was almost impossible for *Cromwell* to have any such Views, at a time when he had but little Credit, and was hardly yet known in the Parliament; that his Reputation only rose by a Succession of contingent Events altogether independent of him; by Battles gained which he might have lost, it is difficult to bring ourselves to a Belief that he could have formed any such Design before his Victory at *Worcester*. It is indeed evident that even before this Battle he had

Views of riſing, but carried them not ſo high as to the Supreme Power. Such Views, if he had entertained them, would not have been hid from ſo many able Men of his own Party. But as it never entered into their Heads to attempt his Ruin till after this Victory, it is very likely that his Deſigns were not perceived before, and that it was from this Time, and perhaps even not ſo ſoon, that he began to lay the Foundation of his grand Project. For being then General, he had leſs Work to go through, than if he had formed the Deſign while he only bore the Title of *Lieutenant-General* *. 1653.

* *Cromwell* ſaid to Mr. *Belliure* : *L'on ne montoit jamais ſi haut, que quand on ne ſcait ou l'on va.* That is, *a Man never riſes ſo High as when he knows not where he is going.* Retz. T. III. *p.* 385.

The following Particulars, not taken Notice of by Rapin, *are to be found in* Whitlock's Memoirs.

Upon the Lord *Goring*'s being reprieved, and the Earl of *Holland* not, both by the Speaker's ſingle Vote, *Whitlock* obſerves, This may be a Caution againſt the Affectation of Popularity, when the Earl of *Holland*, who was as full of Generoſity to all ſorts of Perſons, and Readineſs to help the Oppreſſed, and to ſtand by the Rights of the People, as any Perſon of his Quality in the Nation, was given up by the Repreſentatives of the People; and the Lord *Goring*, who never made Profeſſion of being a Friend to Liberty, either *Civil* or *Spiritual*, and exceeding the Earl as much in his Crimes as he came ſhort of him in his Popularity, was ſpared by the People, *p.* 379.

Upon Information that the *Turkiſh Alcoran* was printing in *Engliſh*, it was ordered *March* the 10th 1648. to be ſuppreſſed, *p.* 380.

April 16. 1649. Upon the Death of Sir *Francis Pile* a Writ iſſued out for a new Election, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, with all his Titles, was returned for *Knight of the Shire for* Bucks, *prima Impreſſionis*, and his Lordſhip was accordingly admitted into the Houſe with great Reſpect, *p.* 383. 1649.

April 25th, The Forms of the Coins were agreed on; on one Side *the Arms of England*, with a Laurel and Palm on each Side, and about it this Inſcription, *The Common-wealth of England*. On the other Side the *Arms* of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *God with us*, p. 384.

May 8th, The Queen of *Bohemia*'s Penſion of 12000 *l.* ſuſpended, *p.* 386.

June 7. At an Entertainment in the City, the Earl of *Pembroke* refuſed to ſit above *Whitlock*, being the Senior Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, ſaying *As much Honour belongs to that Place under a Common-wealth as under a King*, p. 391

1650. The *Engliſh* Merchants were commanded by the Great Duke to depart his Dominions, and not come thither unleſs in the King's Name, and by his Patents; and this was fomented by the *Dutch*, p. 411.

Five Drunkards in *Berkſhire* agreed to drink the King's Health in their Blood, and that each ſhould cut off a Piece of his Buttock and fry it, which Four of them did; but the Wife of the Fifth coming into the Room, and taking up a pair of Tongs, laid about her ſo, that ſhe ſaved the cutting her Husband's Fleſh, p. 435.

May 14. The Act for ſuppreſſing Inceſt, Adultery and Fornication being paſſed; *Henry Martin* declared his Opinion, *That the Severity of the Puniſhment being Death, would cauſe theſe Sins to be more cautiouſly committed, and ſo being undiſcovered, would be the more frequent*, p. 440.

July 20. Letters from the General adviſe, that the *Scotch* Miniſters in their Prayers ſay, *That if God will not deliver them from Sectaries, he ſhall not be their God*, p. 449.

Auguſt 26. In a Skirmiſh with the *Scots*, one of the Enemy fired a Carbine at *Cromwell*; upon which *Cromwell* called to him and ſaid, *If he had been one of his Soldiers, he would have caſhiered him for firing at ſuch a diſtance*, p. 453.

King *Charles* II. made a Speech *January* 25, in the Parliament at St. *Johnſtown*, expreſſing much Joy that he was *the Firſt Covenanted King* of the Nation, *p.* 462.

THE



THE HISTORY OF THE *INTERREGNUM.*

BOOK XXII. PART II.

OLIVER CROMWELL, PROTECTOR.

THE Peace between *England* and the *United-Provinces* was at last concluded, and the Treaty signed the 5th of *April* 1654. By this Treaty *Cromwell* made good Advantage of the Necessity which the *States* were under to make Peace. They could not obtain it without obliging themselves to pay large Sums for the Damages done to the *English* thirty Years before *. They consented

1654. *Peace concluded between* England *and the* United Provinces.

* To deliver up the Island of *Polerone* in the *East-Indies*, taken from the *English* in the Reign of King *James*, and to pay, 'tis said, three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Affair of *Amboyna*, for which the two last Kings could never get any Satisfaction. The Ratifications of the Peace were presented in a Silver Box to the *Protector*. *Whit* p. 57.

1654. to the striking of the Flag, as had before been done to the Ships of the Kings of *England*. They entirely abandoned the Interests of *Charles* II. and obliged themselves to receive no banished Person from *England* into their Dominions. They engaged themselves either to restore to the *English* the Twenty-two Merchant-Ships confiscated by the King of *Denmark*, or to make Satisfaction to the full Value of them. In this Treaty I find no mention made of the *Navigation-Act*, which had been the pretended Cause of this War. It is likely that this Affair was either adjusted in a private and particular Treaty, or the *States* were contented with a bare Promise that no Molestation should be offered them on pretence of this Act. Lastly, by a separate Article the *States* bound themselves to exclude for ever the Prince of *Orange* from the Posts and Employs which his Ancestors had held *. But this Article was ratified only by the Province of *Holland*, the other Provinces refusing their Consent to it, and *Cromwell* not judging it proper to continue the War to force their Compliance. Such was the Conclusion of this War, which had been very warm on both Sides, and brought inexpressible Damage to both Nations. It is said that the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* lost in it fifteen Hundred Ships, which fell into the Hands of the *English*. And this very War, which had been undertaken to ruin *Cromwell*, served to raise him, as it brought him under a Necessity of dissolving the Parliament to prevent his own Destruction.

Cromwell draws a great many Enemies upon himself.

Although the new *Protector* received a general Submission, it was nevertheless with Complaints sufficiently open that he had usurped the Supreme Power by a pretended Title conferred on him by Men without Authority. The *Royalists* looked upon his Elevation as a mortal Wound to the King's Affairs. The *Presbyterians* were not at all more easie; for though their Government in the Church still subsisted, yet

* Namely, *State-holder*, *General*, or *Admiral*.

yet it was with the utmoſt Difficulty that they were brought to bear the Toleration enjoyed by all the other Sects of *Proteſtants*. Beſides, they were ſhut out from the beſt Employs, which it was *Cromwell*'s Care to fill with Men of approved Fideſity to himſelf. The *Presbyterians* were nevertheleſs careſſed by him, becauſe their Aſſiſtance was needful to accompliſh his great Deſign of confirming himſelf in his Dignity by a free Parliament, where he foreſaw they would have a conſiderable Influence. But he hated the *Cavaliers*, and held them in the loweſt Subjection. This was the Cauſe that a great many Conſpiracies were formed againſt him, and the Authors rigorouſly puniſhed *, particularly Mr. *Vowell* and Mr. *Gerard* *1, the former hanged in *London*, and the latter beheaded in the *Tower*. 1654.

Conſpiracies againſt him, and the Authors ſeverely puniſhed. Clarend. VI. p. 491. Baker, p. 621.

At the ſame time, and upon the ſame Scaffold on which *Gerard* had died, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, Knight of *Malta*, and Brother to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, loſt his Head. That Gentleman having picked a Quarrel with the ſame Mr. *Gerard* on the *New-Exchange*, returned the next Day with a ſtrong Retinue. Unhappily he ſingled out a Man in the Crowd whom he miſtook for *Gerard*, and upon a Quarrel which himſelf began, killed him, and others were wounded by his Servants; after which he retired to the Houſe of his Brother the Ambaſſador. This Tumult drew the People together, who ſurrounded the Ambaſſador's Houſe, and threatened to drag out the Criminals to Juſtice. *Cromwell* being informed of the Matter, diſpatched an Officer with ſome Soldiers to demand the Murderers. The Ambaſſador made great Complaints of the Inſult offered him,

The Brother of the Ambaſſador from Portugal *beheaded, 10th* July. Clarend. VI. p. 493. Bate, p. 282.

* There was a High-Court of Juſtice erected on purpoſe "to "try ſuch as were accuſed of holding a Correſpondence with "*Charles Stuart*, and of having a Deſign againſt the Life of the "*Protector*, &c.

*1 The Author calls him Colonel, but he was a young Gentleman, and had been only Enſign in the King's Army. *Clarend.* VI. P. 491.

1654. and demanded an Audience of the *Protector*, but was refuſed, and told, that if the Criminals were not delivered up, the People would not be appeaſed, nor could the *Protector* anſwer for the Conſequences: That as a Man had been killed, and ſeveral wounded, Juſtice muſt have its Courſe. In the mean time the People continued their Noiſe and Menaces; ſo that the Ambaſſador, ſeeing himſelf too weak to reſiſt, was at laſt forced to deliver up his Brother with the Servants who had accompanied him, in hopes afterwards to obtain their Pardon. But *Cromwell* continuing inflexible, the *Portugueſe* Gentleman was beheaded in the *Tower*, and his Accomplices hanged at *Tybourn*. I pretend not to decide whether this Act of Juſtice could be done without a Violation of the Rights of Ambaſſadors, or whether *Cromwell* had not done better in conniving at the Priſoner's eſcape. I ſhall only content my ſelf with ſhewing in a few Words that the preſent Conjuncture was not at all favourable either to the Ambaſſador, or the King his Maſter.

Occaſion of the Ambaſſy from Portugal.

Don John IV. King of *Portugal*, and before Duke of *Braganza*, had in the Year 1640 poſſeſſed himſelf of the Crown of *Portugal*, on pretence of its having been unjuſtly wreſted from his Anceſtors by *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. This had engaged him in a War with *Spain*, during which *Charles* I. had in a Treaty ſigned at *York*, owned the Validity of that Prince's Title to the Crown of *Portugal*. Thus the two Crowns of *England* and *Portugal* were engaged in an Alliance before the War between *Charles* and the Parliament was declared: Upon this Foundation the two Princes *Palatine*, *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the firſt of which commanded the King's Navy, being obliged in the Year 1650 to leave the Coaſts of *Ireland*, where they could no longer continue in Safety, ſailed into the River of *Lisbon*. They were no ſooner come there, than a Fleet from the Parliament arrived in the Mouth of the *Tagus*, and immediately the Admiral demanded of the King of *Portugal* the delivery

Bate, p. 196.

livery of the Ships commanded by Prince *Rupert*, 1654.
ſaying that they belonged to the Common-wealth of *England*. This Demand extremely embarraſſed the King. He had made an Alliance with the King of *England*; but on the other Hand *England* was then the declared Enemy of that King, and *Don John* in this Conjuncture was under a neceſſity of declaring either for one or the other. Reaſons of State required of him a Declaration for the Parliament, but Honour and Hoſpitality as ſtrongly pleaded for a Protection of the Ships of a confederate King which were come Clarend. for Refuge to *Portugal*. This Queſtion was ſtrongly debated in his Council. The greateſt Part of the Members adviſed him to give up the Intereſts of a King drove from his Kingdoms, and in no Condition to do any thing either to his Prejudice or Advantage, and by this Step to gain the Friendſhip of a powerful Common-wealth, from which he might expect great Aſſiſtance againſt *Spain*: Whereas in declaring againſt the Parliament, he would perhaps engage himſelf in freſh Difficulties, at a time when all his Forces were but juſt ſufficient to repel the Attacks of *Spain*. But the King, by his Reaſons and Authority, brought the Council to a Reſolution of protecting the King of *England*'s Ships: Purſuant to this Reſolution a Squadron was immediately equipped of thirteen Men of War, to join Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet. The two Squadrons ſailed together with Deſign to fight the *Engliſh*, if they were found between the two Capes *. For the *Portugueſe* Squadron had Orders to ſail no farther, that the King's Intention might appear to be no other than ſecuring the Entrance into the *Tagus*. Upon the Advice which the *Engliſh* Admiral received of this Junction, he made off into the Main. But to revenge himſelf for the Protection granted to Prince *Rupert*'s Fleet, he fell upon that of *Portugal* returning from *Brazile*, and took fifteen Ships. The approach of Winter obliging him

VI.

* Cape *Finiſtere* and Cape St. *Vincent*.

1654. to return to *England*, the two Princes *Palatine* got clear and ſailed to *America*, after they had given Occaſion to a ſort of Rupture between *England* and *Portugal*. To make up this Difference it was that the King of *Portugal* had diſpatched to *London* the *Condè de Penaguaio*, the Situation of his Affairs from a War with *Spain* which had continued thirteen Years, not ſuffering him to remain in a State of Hoſtility with the Common-wealth of *England*. It was very probable for this ſame Reaſon that he declined recalling his Ambaſſador after the Execution of *Don Pantaleon Sa*: And perhaps this Accident retarded the Peace between *England* and *Portugal*, which was not ſigned till two Years afterwards in 1656.

The King's Condition in France. Clarend. VI. p. 426.

When *Charles* II. arrived in *France*, after his miraculous Eſcape from the Battle of *Worceſter*, he lived in the greateſt Indigence, not having wherewithal to ſupport himſelf. The Court of *France* was perfectly unconcerned at his Neceſſities, whether deſirous to keep fair with *Cromwell*, or in view of a ſtrict Alliance with him, or through dread of his declaring in Favour of *Spain*. However that be, the King's Condition was deplorable. He had even the Mortification to ſee *Monſieur* de *Bourdeaux*, who till then had been his Reſident in *England*, appointed Ambaſſador by the *French* Court, upon *Cromwell*'s being declared *Protector*. This Alteration convinced the King that *France* was haſtening into an Alliance with *Cromwell*, and that this Treaty would be followed with a Requeſt to him to depart the Kingdom. This put him upon preventing this Compliment, by letting *Cardinal Mazarin* know that he intended to withdraw; which was welcome News to the *Cardinal*. To facilitate the execution of his Deſign, the Cardinal promiſed him the Arrears of a Penſion of ſix Thouſand *Livres* a Month, which had been granted, but never exactly paid, and the continuance of the ſame, as long as he ſhould be out of *France*. At the ſame time the King received another ſmall Relief, which enabled him to diſcharge his Debts. Prince *Rupert*

Rupert arrived ſafely at *Nantes* with the Fleet, after he had loſt his Brother *Maurice* in a Storm. Beſides, that the Ships were extremely damaged, and the King in no Condition to repair them, he was in great want of Money, which determined him to ſell the Ships with all their Tackling. Cardinal *Mazarin* was the Purchaſer, though after a very ſordid manner, if we may believe the Lord *Clarendon*; but however he paid him the Money without delay. After that Prince *Rupert* repaired to *Paris*, and taking leave of the King, withdrew into *Germany*. The King, after he had received the Money, left *Paris*, and made choice of *Cologne* for the Place of his Retreat, where he continued many Years.

1654. *Prince Rupert arrives in France.* *The King ſells the Ships he brought.* *The Prince withdraws into Germany, and the King retires to Cologne.* Clarend. VI. p. 522. Ibid. 512.

The King before he left *France* ſent *Wilmot*, now made Earl of *Rocheſter*, his Envoy to the Emperour, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*, to procure ſome aſſiſtance in Money. He even applied to the *Pope* by the Mediation of *Cardinal de Retz*, and it is pretended, that to make this Negotiation ſucceed, the Cardinal prevailed with him to change his Religion, and privately received his Abjuration. At leaſt, Dr. *Burnet* in the Hiſtory of his own Times aſſures us, that the King embraced the Catholick Religion before he quitted *France*, where he returned no more after the time I am ſpeaking of. But others, who upon better Information, they think, aſſign this Change to the Year 1659.

Baker, p. 621. p. 74.

While the King was overwhelmed with Adverſity, *Cromwell* was honoured, reſpected, and feared by all the Powers of *Europe*, being equally courted by all. In *England* his Enemies durſt not look up; *Scotland* was entirely ſubdued, and *Ireland* reduced to the laſt Extremity. But before we return to the Affairs of *England*, it will be neceſſary briefly to relate what paſſed in *Ireland* and *Scotland* to the Middle of the Year 1654.

Affairs of Ireland.

After *Cromwell*'s departure out of *Ireland* in the Year 1650, *Ireton*, his Son-in-Law, who commanded there as his Deputy, treated the *Iriſh* Rebels, who

Clarend. VI. p. 429. Bate, p. 173.

fell

1654. fell into his Hands, with great Severity, the Parliament having ordered no Mercy to be shewn to any one. But this was not capable to bring the *Irish* to an Union with the Marquis of *Ormond*. On the contrary, a Zeal for their Religion by the Influence and Perswasion of their Monks and Clergy, made them irreconcileable to all Thoughts of Submission to a *Protestant* Commander. This carried them even to Conspiracies against the Life of the Marquis, and in an Insurrection at *Limerick*, excited by a Monk, he was very near being killed. At last the *Irish* Popish Bishops in a full Assembly published a Declaration, with a Protest, that they would have no manner of Communion with Hereticks, nor pay any Obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*. In Consequence of this, they required him to resign his Command into the Hands of a Catholick, on whom they could better rely. The Marquis thus exposed to the Suspicions and treacherous Designs of the *Irish*, and utterly incapable to restore the King's Affairs in that Kingdom, left the Marquis of *Clenrickard* Lieutenant, and retired into *France*, from whence he accompanied the King to *Cologne*.

The Marquis of Ormond *leaves* Ireland.

Ireton's *Death*.

Ireton being taken off by the Plague in 1651, the Parliament put their Forces in *Ireland* under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Edmond Ludlow*, a great Republican, and one of *Charles* the First's Judges.

The Duke of Lorrain *invited by the* Irish *to accept their Government.* Clarend. VI. p. 430, 470.

The *Irish* were not more obedient to the Marquis of *Clenrickard* than they had been to the Marquis of *Ormond*. The Catholick Clergy, and the whole Province of *Ulster*, refused all Dealings with the *English* under the Command of the Marquis, though he was a Catholick. It was sufficient that he had received his Commission from a Protestant, to render him odious. A certain Number of Men were therefore chosen to form a Council for the Administration of their Affairs. This Council judged it expedient to call into their Assistance a Foreign Catholick Prince, who might be capable to head them, and

and put him in Poſſeſſion of the Government of their *Iſle.* 1654.

They caſt their Eyes upon the Duke of *Lorrain* who was then at *Bruſſels*, and reſolved to ſend Deputies to treat with him. This Reſolution being taken, the Marquiſs of *Clenrickard* was applied to for a Commiſſion to the Deputies, from an Apprehenſion that they could meet with no good Reception if not authorized by the King's Governour in *Ireland.* But the Marquiſs did not care to grant any ſuch Commiſſion, till he knew the King's Pleaſure. This Refuſal heightened the Animoſities already conceived againſt him. He was exclaimed againſt by them to the greateſt degree, and their Deputies were ſent notwithſtanding all his Oppoſitions *. The Duke of *Lorrain* judged it not proper to engage himſelf in the Undertaking, without better Information in ſome Particulars which it concerned him to know. He diſpatched a certain Abbot into *Ireland*, who having learned that the *Iriſh* Affairs were almoſt deſperate, and the Negotiation undertaken without the Conſent of the King's Lieutenant, refuſed to come to any Treaty with them. The *Iriſh* enraged with the Marquiſs of *Clenrickard* for oppoſing their Deſign, perſecuted him ſeveral ways, and at laſt, treated with *Ludlow* by the Means of a certain Monk, without any Notice taken of the Marquiſs, who ſeeing himſelf incapable to do any thing for the King's Service, informed him of what was done, and deſired leave to retire. The King eaſily granted his Requeſt, as ſeeing no likely Means to ſave *Ireland*, and left the *Iriſh* to their own Meaſures, whoſe Affairs from this time grew daily more hopeleſs.

Bate, p. 175.

Rejects the Offer.

It

* The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, after he had been inveighed againſt with great Virulency, he could not withſtand the Importunity of the Aſſembly of confederate Catholicks, but gave his Credentials to the Perſon recommended to him. However, the Commiſſioners were reſolved to follow the Inſtructions of the Aſſembly, and not the Marquiſs's. *Clarend.* VI. p. 469, 470.

1655. Bate, p. 182. It was then, and in the following Years, that the *Iriſh* wholly unable to reſiſt the Parliament Forces, ſaw themſelves expoſed to the utmoſt Severity of the *Engliſh* Commanders. The Cruelties and Barbarities which they had exerciſed upon the *Engliſh* Proteſtants ſettled in *Ireland* were juſtly retaliated upon them. Many were delivered into the Hands of the Executioner, and others, to the Number of above a Hundred Thouſand, had the Liberty to go into the Service of Foreign Princes, but periſhed moſt of them by Famine and other Miſeries. The Families which were permitted to ſtay in their own Country were, for the moſt Part, tranſported into the Province of *Connaught*, where ſome ſmall Tracts of Land were aſſigned to them for their Subſiſtence, while the reſt of the Kingdom was delivered to the *Adventurers*, who had advanced Money for the *Iriſh* War. Part alſo of theſe confiſcated Eſtates was given to the Officers in payment of their Arrears, and Part was ſold to the beſt Bidders. From this Time the Nation has been kept ſo low, that there is no appearance of its ever recovering. In 1654, *Fleetwood*, who had married *Ireton*'s Widow, Daughter to *Cromwell*, had the Government of this *Iſle*, and two Years after *Henry Cromwell*, younger Son of the *Protector*, was nominated to ſucceed him.

Affairs of Scotland. Clarend. VI. Baker, p. 628. Bate, p. 262. Although *Scotland* was ſubdued, yet it was not entirely free from Diſturbances. The General-Aſſemblies of the Kirk had been ſuppreſſed by *Cromwell*, who looked upon them as the Sources from whence flowed all the Troubles which had ſo many Years infeſted *Scotland*. And as it was his Intention to introduce in that Kingdom a Liberty of Conſcience as well as in *England*, he well knew that it would be impoſſible to execute his Deſign while theſe Aſſemblies ſubſiſted. The People of *Scotland* were mad at ſeeing a Liberty ſo contrary to their *Covenant*, and the Maxims of their Kirk. They ſufficiently diſcovered their Thoughts of this Matter; but all their Zeal was without Effect, it was unaſſiſted either by

Places, Forces, Arms or Leaders to deliver them from the Yoke of the *Engliſh*. On the other Hand, ſome Lords and Gentlemen of the King's Party ſtill kept in the *High-lands* with ſome Troops under the Command of the Earl of *Glencarn*. But theſe Troops, neither well armed nor diſciplined, were defeated by Colonel *Morgan*. Nevertheleſs, with the broken Remains of their Troops they ſtill ſtood upon the Defenſive in ſome inacceſſible Places, where it was impoſſible to attack them. But at laſt Diſcord ariſing among them, they ſaw themſelves under the Neceſſity of ſending to the King for Colonel *Middleton*, and obtained his Conſent. On the Arrival of *Middleton*, *Glencarn* quitted and made his own Peace. *Middleton* kept up the Remains of this Party about a Year longer, and then was obliged to forſake it, being ſenſible it was out of his Power to do any great Service for the King in that Country. It is time now to return to the Affairs of *England*. 1654.

The *Inſtrument* of Government running that a Parliament was to aſſemble the 3d of *September*, *Cromwell* called one on that Day. But in his Writs for the Election of Members, there was an expreſs Prohibition againſt electing any Perſons, or their Sons, who had born Arms for the King; and this was punctually obeyed. A new Regulation was likewiſe made to proportion the Number of *Repreſentatives* to the largeneſs of the Cities and Counties, and to aſſign to each its Share to the Expences of the Government. This Regulation, as juſt in itſelf, met with a general Approbation *. *Cromwell calls a Parliament.* Baker, p. 623. Clarend. VI. p. 237.

The

* By the 9th and 10th Articles of the Inſtrument of Government (which ſee in *Whit. Mem.* p. 552.) it was provided, that the Perſons to be choſen in *England* and *Wales* ſhould not exceed Four Hundred. Thoſe for *Scotland* and *Ireland* (for the Three Kingdoms united in one Common-wealth) were to be Thirty for each Kingdom. Then the Perſons to be choſen in *England* and *Wales* were to be in a certain Proportion there ſet down at large. A Proportion, which it would have been well for *England*, had it been always kept to, the little inſignificant Boroughs being omitted, and the number of the Knights of the Shire increaſed from Four to Twelve, according to the Extent of the County.

1654. *His Speech to it, 3d September.* The Parliament being assembled, *Cromwell* opened the Session with a Speech in the *Painted-Chamber*, where the House attended on him. He briefly touched upon the Disorders of the preceeding Government, and endeavoured to justifie this which was established in its Room. After having assured the Members of his good and upright Intentions, he represented his Services done for the Nation since the dissolution of the long Parliament, and told them that he had called a free Parliament agreeably to the Desires of all good *English-men*; to which he adddd, that he by no Means pretended to be their Master, but the Companion and Sharer of their Labour.

Cromwell hoped from this Parliament, free indeed in all other Respects but that of the exclusion of the *Royalists*, who could not have been admitted with Safety, a Confirmation of his Protectorial Dignity, which, from so free a Parliament, would stop the Mouths of his Enemies. Upon his own recommendation *Lenthal*, Speaker of the *long* Parliament, was chosen again to that Post. It appeared very soon that the Parliament had a great number of Members who were Enemies of Tyranny, and from the *long* Parliament in which they had served, had imbibed Maxims quite contrary to those which *Cromwell* desired to establish. The first Thing proposed was to examine the Power which had convened them; a Question unexpected by *Cromwell*. In all appearance it was the Design of his Enemies by this, to give a mortal Blow to his Authority in a decision of its being Imaginary and Illegal, as indeed it was. Perhaps too the Parliament had a Thought to grasp the Sovereign Power into their own Hands, though convened by an unlawful Authority. *Cromwell* himself had given them an Instance of what could be done with the help of Force. But as he had his Friends, as well as Enemies, in the House, he found Means to waste their Time by the Opposition they met with from the Party of the Army-Officers and some others who had espoused his Interest, whether

Lenthal *made Speaker.*

Cromwell's *Power questioned*, Clarend. VI. p. 497.

from Friendſhip or Fear. Wherefore though he could not hinder the frequent Debates upon this Affair, he nevertheleſs gave his Enemies cauſe to apprehend that their Oppoſition would prove fruitleſs when the Point ſhould come to be decided. At laſt, perceiving that a favourable Opportunity was only watched to have the Queſtion carried againſt him, he called all the Members into the *Painted-Chamber* to a Speech prepared for the Occaſion. Though in his firſt Speech he told them that he would only be the Companion of their Labour; in this he ſpoke in the Tone of a Maſter, and gave them to underſtand that they aſſumed too much Liberty in calling an eſtabliſhed Government into Queſtion, from which themſelves had derived their Authority, ſince if they were not lawfully convened, they had no Power to debate. At their return to the Houſe they found a Guard placed at the Door denying entrance to any Perſon who would not firſt ſign an Engagement in theſe Words—I A. B. *do hereby promiſe and engage my ſelf to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and ſhall not (according to the Tenour of the Indenture whereby I am returned to ſerve in this preſent Parliament) propoſe or give any Conſent to alter the Government as it is ſettled in one ſingle Perſon and a Parliament.* A great number refuſing to ſign this Engagement were excluded from the Houſe.

1654.

He ſpeaks to the Houſe with Heat and Reſentment. Bate, p. 282.

Baker, p. 623.

Excludes ſeveral Members.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Members themſelves who had ſigned the Engagement were not at all more manageable, but took every Occaſion to ſhew their ill-will to *Cromwell*. They had only ſigned to have it in their Power to deſtroy him when a favourable Occaſion offered, which they hoped would not be long. A Plot had been laid chiefly by the *Cavaliers*, but with the Privity of a great many Members of Parliament, to raiſe an Army in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. *Cromwell* had Information of it by his Spies, and prevented the execution by a Diſſolution of the Parliament Eleven Days before the Time fixed for

1654-5.

Diſſolves it.

1655. for its continuance by the Instrument of Government*, namely, on the 22d of *January*. At the Dissolution he told the Members that he was acquainted with their Designs, and knew that several amongst them had engaged in a Conspiracy against the Government.

Plots against the Protector.

It was not without Foundation that he mentioned a Conspiracy which was now ready to break out. Though he had not come to the Knowledge of all the Particulars, he knew however in general that an Insurrection was intended in several Places, and he had the Names of some of the principal Actors. Two Days after the Dissolution of the Parliament Major *Wildman* was arrested by his Order, and a Declaration was found upon him, setting forth the Reasons which ought to engage the *English* to take up Arms against *Cromwell*. Some others, both Republicans and Royalists, were apprehended on the same Occasion.

Clarend. VI. p. 500.

A Design laid for two Insurrections.

After the King's Retirement to *Cologne*, he received frequent Expresses from his Friends, informing him of the general Discontent which *Cromwell*'s Government had raised, and that no Opportunity could be more favourable to incourage a general *Rising*. The Information from the Royalists, so far as it concerned the general Discontent, was certainly true. But they went upon a false Principle, which had often deceived *Charles* I. and now likewise deceived them. This Principle was, That all who were uneasie with the present Government were disposed to serve the King, and restore him without any Condition. 'Tis true indeed, the *Presbyterians* were willing to have the King restored, provided it could be on the Terms granted by the King his Father in the Treaty of *Newport*, that is, with the Restraint of the Royal Power,

Ib. p. 337.

Errour of the Royalists.

* By the VIIIth Article of the Instrument of Government, the Parliament was not, during the Space of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their first meeting, to be adjourned, prorogued or dissolved without their own Consent. *Whit. Mem.* p. 553.

Power, and the Maintenance of the *Presbyterian* Government in the Church. But there was no likelihood that *Charles* II. when reſtored to Power and Liberty, would grant the ſame Conditions which had been accepted by *Charles* I. under Confinement. On the other Hand, 'tis alſo true, that in general, *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, in a Word, all the zealous *Republicans*, were become Enemies to *Cromwell* from the Moment of his ſeizing the Government, and that the Army itſelf was not without a Party againſt him. But nothing was farther from theſe Men's Thoughts, than reſtoring the King to his Throne; and yet the Royaliſts perſuaded themſelves that all *Cromwell*'s Enemies, would with Emulation labour for the King's Reſtoration, as if there was no poſſibility of being an Enemy to the *Protector*, without being at the ſame time devoted to the King. Upon this Foundation it was, that they formed the Project of a Riſing in the *Weſt*, and of another in the *North*, not making any doubt of the Army's joining, or at leaſt ſuffering them to act undiſturbed againſt *Cromwell*. This Project was communicated to the King, and had his Approbation, and the Day appointed for the execution was the 8th of *April*. The King diſpatched the neceſſary Commiſſaries, and privately conveyed himſelf into *Zealand* to be as near as poſſible to *England* if the Undertaking ſhould be crowned with Succeſs. At the ſame time *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter* repaired ſecretly to *London* in Company of Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, who had been a Major-General in the Army of the late King. At *London* their Friends were conſulted, and it was reſolved to put *Wagſtaff* at the Head of the Riſing, which was to be in the *Weſt*, and the Earl of *Rocheſter* of that in the *North*. 1655.

On the Day appointed *Wagſtaff* came within two Miles of *Salisbury*, where he found *Penruddock*, a *Corniſh* Gentleman, *Jones*, *Grove* and ſome others met together to the number of about two Hundred Horſe. With this ſmall Force they entred *Salisbury* without

Salisbury *ſurprized.* Baker, p. 624.

1655. without any Oppoſition. For as it was then the time of the Aſſizes, little Notice was taken who and what Perſons came into the City; the Market-Place was immediately ſeized, and the Gates of the City ſhut. After this the Judges were ſeized, with the Sheriff, and were in great danger of being hanged for their refuſal to proclaim the King, who notwithſtanding was proclaimed. But ſoon after the Conſpirators perceiving that the Inhabitants remained ſhut up in their Houſes, without ſhowing any forwardneſs to join them, they loſt their Courage, left the City, and retired weſtward. A Troop of Horſe, accidentally quartered in the Neighbourhood, purſued and inſpired ſuch Terrour into them, that at their Approach they laid down their Arms. *Wagſtaff* luckily made his eſcape; but *Penruddock*, *Jones* and *Grove* were taken. The firſt was beheaded, and the other two hanged. Notwithſtanding the great Hopes the *Royaliſts* had conceived of a general Riſing throughout the Kingdom, yet the People no where attempted any Thing to favour the Enterprize. It is impoſſible to gueſs what would have been the Behaviour of the Army, ſince there was no neceſſity of their being aſſembled, this Affair being terminated in two or three Days. One Remark may be made of what commonly happens on theſe Occaſions, which is, that the Managers of ſuch Undertakings keeping Company for the moſt part only with Men of their own Party, eaſily perſuade themſelves that all the World is in the Sentiments of thoſe with whom they converſe, wherein they are frequently miſtaken. This was, as it were, the peculiar Weakneſs of the *Royaliſts*, of which the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory furniſhes many Inſtances.

The Conſpirators defeated.

Three of them executed, 16 of May.

The Riſing which was to be in the *North* vaniſhed before it was well begun. The Earl of *Rocheſter* repaired to the County of *York*, where he found ſome Gentlemen ſufficiently zealous for the King's Service. But after an examination and inquiry into what they were capable to undertake and execute,

The Deſign in the North comes to nothing.

he thought it not proper to enter upon Action there, but returned to the King with the Account of what had paſſed. 1655.

The King, fallen from the Hope which he had conceived of this Affair, returned back to *Cologne*. Immediately after his Arrival, it was diſcovered that one of his Domeſticks named *Manning*, lately come from *England*, held a ſecret Correſpondence with *Thurlo*, *Cromwell*'s Secretary, and let him into the Tranſactions of the King's Court. He was apprehended and ſhot to Death in a Caſtle belonging to the Duke of *Newbourg*. It is now time to ſpeak of the Affairs which *Cromwell* had with *France* and *Spain*. Manning, Cromwell's *Spy executed*. Clarend. VI. p. 562. Baker, p. 629.

We have ſeen in the Reign of *Charles* I. that Cardinal *Richelieu* had ſome Concern in the Troubles begun in *Scotland* in the Year 1637, from which thoſe of *England* were afterwards produced. The Court of *France* all along ſeemed to eſpouſe the Intereſt of *Charles* I. during his Life, and pretended to a good deal of Merit on that Score, but never afforded him any real Aſſiſtance. Cardinal *Richelieu* believed that nothing promiſed better Succeſs to the Scheme he had contrived for the reducing the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than the preventing any Aſſiſtance from *England* to *Spain* in the Quarrel depending between *France* and that Kingdom, as the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, and the Intereſts of *England* required. For this Purpoſe that able Miniſter, inſtead of aſſiſting *Charles* I. thought only of fomenting the Troubles of *England*, and diſtreſſing that Prince at Home. Cardinal *Mazarin* his Succeſſor, under the Minority of *Louis* XIV. followed his Predeceſſor's Maxims, and never gave any real Aſſiſtance to *Charles*. But it may be ſaid, that he carried his Politicks too far, ſince inſtead of keeping the Ballance between the King and Parliament in a juſt equality, he put it, by his Management, in the Power of the Parliament to riſe to a Superiority, which might in the End greatly turn to the Preju- *Affairs between* France *and* England.

1655. dice of *France*. After the Death of *Charles* I. the Common-wealth of *England* grew so Potent that it was in vain now to endeavour to reduce its Power, especially as *France* was then engaged in a War with *Spain*. If *France* had come into the Interest of *Charles* II. she would have run the Risk of seeing the Parliament enter into a League with *Spain*, which in that Conjuncture was not to be hazarded. For this Reason the Interests of *Charles* II. were abandoned by *France*, and all his Assistance from thence was a Pension too inconsiderable for his Subsistence. And even this was allowed him with the greatest Secrecy to give no Jealousie to the Parliament. The *English* were so little afraid of *France*, that in the Year 1652 their Navy made no Scruple of falling upon the *French* Fleet, sent to the Relief of *Dunkirk* then besieged by the *Spaniards*, and taken by them the same Year. Notwithstanding this Affront, *France* neglected not to send an Ambassador to the Parliament to desire their Friendship. *Cromwell* after his Advancement to the *Protectorate*, held, for some time, the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in suspence, equally flattering both Kingdoms with Hopes of the Friendship of *England*. But it appeared afterwards that he had only an Intention to amuse *Spain*, having before resolved upon an Alliance with *France*.

Affairs between England and Spain.

Spain had given no more Assistance to *Charles* I. than *France*. On the contrary, *D. Alenzo de Cardenas*, Ambassador from *Spain* in *England*, had manifested a Partiality for the Parliament, which was looked upon by that Prince as a sort of Declaration against him. After the Death of *Charles*, the King of *Spain* paid great Regard to the Parliament, and gave them no just Occasion for War against him. All that *England* could reproach him with was a Reception, and a very cold one, granted to Lord *Cottington* and Mr. *Hyde* as Ambassadors from *Charles* II. but without entring into any Negotiation with them that might give any Jealousie to the Parliament. The sole Design of this Ambassy was to procure

cure ſome Money from the *Spaniſh* Court for the King's Subſiſtence, but with no Effect. The Murder of *Aſcham*, the Parliament's Envoy at *Madrid*, by ſome *Iriſh*, and the little Zeal ſhewn by the Court of *Spain* to bring the Murderers to Puniſhment, might be another Subject of Complaint. But Things of this Nature are liable to ſo many Diſcuſſions, that it is no eaſie Matter to know whether it was in the King of *Spain*'s Power to give the Parliament an entire Satisfaction. However that be, theſe Subjects of Complaint were too trifling to lay the Foundation of a War between the two Nations. In the mean time *Cromwell*, now made *Protector*, had no ſooner concluded a Peace with *Holland*, than he formed the Deſign of falling upon *Spain*. The Motives to this War are not eaſie to be gueſſed at. What ſeems moſt probable is this; *Cromwell*, as I have obſerved before, had a deſire to have his Protectorial Dignity which he received from the Officers of the Army confirmed by a Parliament. It concerned him therefore firſt, to render ſome ſignal Service to the State, to make his Uſurpation the more eaſily digeſted. Secondly, As the Kingdom of *Spain* was then upon the Decline, he perhaps was of Opinion that it would be no Difficulty to make ſome Conqueſt upon that Crown, to render his Protectorate famous, and let the *Engliſh* ſee that his Views in raiſing himſelf, terminated in a Deſire of being the more capable to ſerve the Republick. Thirdly, There is ſome appearance that *Mazarin* had a good Share in this Deſign, in order to give a powerful Diverſion to *Spain*.

1655.

Cromwell reſolves upon a War with Spain.

However this be, *Cromwell* on his Advancement to the Protectorſhip equipped two Fleets, one under the Command of *Blake*, ſent to the *Mediterranean* to chaſtiſe the *Corſairs* of *Algier*, who made frequent Seizures of the *Engliſh* Veſſels; the other under *Penn*, with about five Thouſand Land-Soldiers commanded by *Venables* *. The two laſt Commanders had ſealed

A Deſign upon St. Domingo. Clarend. VI p. 576. Baker, p. 624. Bate, p. 307.

* A Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheſhire*. Clarend p. 576.

1655. Orders from *Cromwell*, which were not to be opened till a prefixed time. They ſailed from *Portſmouth* the 24th of *December*, and after having kept ſome time at Sea, arrived at *Barbadoes* the 30th of *March* 1655. The ſealed Order contained Inſtructions for their ſailing to the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, to render themſelves Maſters of St. *Domingo* the Capital of the Iſland. *Cromwell*'s Inſtructions for this Undertaking were ſo particular, and with ſuch Circumſtances, that it was manifeſt they were drawn up by Men who had a thorough Knowledge of the Country *. On ſight of the *Engliſh* Fleet the *Spaniards* fled out of St. *Domingo*. But *Venables*, inſtead of landing his Troops within a Mile of the Place, as his Inſtructions directed, ſailed and landed them ſome Miles diſtant from it. This gave the Inhabitants time to recover from the Fright they were in, and to put the Town, to which they had returned, in a Poſture of Defence. The *Engliſh* on their Arrival before *Domingo*, found themſelves ſo fatigued by a long March, Heat, Famine and Thirſt, that they were eaſily repulſed and driven back to their Ships, after Numbers of their Men left dead and wounded upon the Iſland.

Miſcarries.

Conqueſt of Jamaica, 17th May. Baker, p. 625.

This Attempt miſcarrying, the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailed away to *Jamaica*, and ſeized the Iſle with little Difficulty. Some Troops were left there, and afterwards reinforced by *Cromwell* in order to preſerve this Conqueſt, and the *Engliſh* have ſince eſtabliſhed there a rich *Colony*. *Venables* was committed to the *Tower* on his return to *London*, but ſoon diſcharged.

The King of Spain *ſeizes the Effects of the* Engliſh *Merchants.*

The War being declared by this unexpected Attempt upon the *Spaniards*, their King gave Orders for the Seizure of the Effects belonging to the *Engliſh* Merchants in *Spain*, and all other Countries under his Dominions, which cauſed conſiderable Damage to the *Engliſh*. Nor did the Miſchief ſtop here; for by

* 'Tis ſaid, *Thomas Gage*, who had been a Prieſt, and was come from the *Weſt-Indies*, engaged him in this Deſign, by giving him an account of the Weakneſs as well as Riches of the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts. *Burnet*, p. 74.

by this War ſo unjuſtly entred into, the *Engliſh* forfeited the *Spaniſh* Trade; which transferred to the *Dutch*, helped them to repair the Loſſes ſuſtained in the laſt War. 1655.

Peace made with France, 23d October. Clarend. VI. p 581. Baker, p. 627.

The War with *Spain* was immediately followed by a Peace concluded with *France*, and proclaimed at *London* the 23d of *October*. The making of this Peace was attended with no Difficulty, as *France* was willing to forget the Injuries received from the *Engliſh* in the Year 1652. Nothing therefore remained to be done more than the renewing of antient Treaties, which was made very eaſie after *Cromwell*'s Declaration againſt *Spain* *.

Cromwell ſurrounded with Enemies.

Beſides the Inſurrections and Conſpiracies from the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*, *Cromwell* had other Fears from the Male-contents of his own Faction. The Service of theſe Men had been faithful and uſeful to him while his Deſigns were concealed, but they were exceedingly provoked at their being made Tools to his private Ambition. The *Republicans* were incenſed againſt him for his ſubverting their Model of Government, not leſs ſacred to them, than was the *Covenant* to the *Presbyterians*. So that *Cromwell* by procuring himſelf to be inveſted with the Protectorſhip, had offended them no leſs than he had done the *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*. It was no eaſie matter to curb three Parties, which if they could have been brought to unite, would have been ſtrong enough to ruin him. But he well knew ſuch an Union was not eaſie to be effected, and yet it was not impoſſible that particular Men of each Party might combine for his Deſtruction, whether openly or in private. The Army was his only Support, and even

* This Confederacy was dearly purchaſed on the Part of *England*, for by it the Ballance of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* was deſtroyed, and a Foundation laid for the future Greatneſs of the *French*, to the unſpeakable Prejudice of all *Europe* in general, and of the *Engliſh* Nation in particular, whoſe Intereſt it had been hitherto accounted to maintain that Equality as near as might be. *Ludlow's Mem.* Vol. II. p. 559.

1655. theſe, as appears from *Ludlow*'s *Memoirs*, who were his moſt inveterate Enemies were *Republicans*, who hated him mortally. Nay, there was great likelihood, that had he been obliged to draw the whole diſperſed Army together, and the Officers could have come to an Underſtanding with one another, he would not have remained Maſter. As to the *Royaliſts*, he never wanted Pretences to perſecute them, which likewiſe ſuited with the Humours and Intereſts of all the other Parties. Then for the *Preſbyterians*, the keeping them under was an Obligation upon both *Cavaliers* and *Independents*, as both were aſſured that they were their Enemies, and had no better Treatment to expect from them ſhould they ever come again into Play, than they had experienced from *Cromwell*. But the *rigid Republicans* were his moſt dreaded Enemies, becauſe he had not any Pretence againſt them. Their Complaints againſt him were the more juſt, and inſpired them with the greater freedom of finding fault with his Meaſures, as he had put himſelf at their Head under the ſpecious Colour of the publick Good, and yet deluded them till they had become the Inſtruments of his private Elevation. Wherefore, to hold all theſe Parties in Subjection, he divided *England* into eleven Diſtricts, and eſtabliſhed in every one Officers, to whom he gave the Title of *Major-Generals*, with an almoſt abſolute Power, the better to qualify them to prevent any Inſurrections, which might at any time happen in the Counties. In this Eſtabliſhment his principal View was to keep the *Republicans* in Awe, though the *Cavaliers* were the pretended Occaſion of it. Theſe *Major-Generals* roſe into true Tyrants, and oppreſſed the People in ſuch a manner, that *Cromwell* at laſt ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity of reducing their Power within narrower Bounds *.

Conſtitutes Major-Generals. October.

Though

* *Bate* makes the number of Diſtricts to be 14. The Major-Generals were *Kelſey*, *Goff*, *Desborrow*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whaley*,

Though *Cromwell* was inclined by his Ambition to ſupport by Force the Dignity he had procured to himſelf, nevertheleſs the Abſurdity was too palpable of hoping to exerciſe an Authority conferred on him by Men inveſted with no lawful Power. He ſaw, without any Difficulty, that this was the never-failing Spring from which had flowed all the Plots and Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon and Government. There was not one Law in being by which he could puniſh the Conſpirators, as his Dignity, far from having any ſolid Foundation, was indeed a pure Uſurpation. On ſuch Occaſions therefore it was neceſſary to have recourſe to a Tyrannical Power, and ſuch Violences might produce in the End very ill Conſequences. For a Remedy to this Inconvenience, he had called a free Parliament, in expectation of having his Authority confirmed; but his Views were diſappointed. A Parliament therefore he was reſolved to have, on which he ſhould be able to depend, and whoſe Authority he would make uſe of to ſecure and eſtabliſh his own. 1656. *Reſolves to call a Parliament.*

The Parliament, according to the natural meaning of the Word, is the Repreſentative of the Nation. The Deciſions and Laws made there, are ſuppoſed to be conformable to the Sentiments of the Nation in general. The Reſpect, Veneration and Attachment which the *Engliſh* have for Parliaments are therefore eaſily accounted for, when it is conſidered that in ſupporting them, they maintain their own Liberty. But this ſuppoſes a Parliament in the way which the Conſtitution requires, compoſed of the King, who is the Head, and the two Houſes of *Lords* and *Commons*, with the entire Liberty to theſe laſt of electing their own Members. A Parliament thus compoſed may truly be called the Nation's Repreſentatives. It is not neceſſary here to obſerve that Artifices, Intrigues and Cabals have ſometimes altered *Reflections upon Parliaments.*

ley, Butler, Berry, Worſeley, Lambert, Berkſtead, who was alſo Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

1656. tered this happy Constitution. Frequent Instances before given in the course of this History put this Matter out of all doubt. We have seen Parliaments void of all Attention to the Good of their Country, devote themselves entirely to the Will of the Prince. By others Kings have been deposed or stripped of their most lawful Prerogatives. But without going further back, let us only reflect on the Transactions of the late Reign, particularly from the Month of *December* 1648. A Parliament reduced by Force and Violence to less than a Hundred Members, brought the Sovereign to the Scaffold, abolished the House of Lords, destroyed Monarchy, changed the Government into a Common-wealth, and invested themselves with the Supreme Authority, under the specious Pretence of their representing the Nation, though without King and House of Peers. And yet, though the Constitution was quite over-turned, though the Name of Parliament, one would have thought, should not have misled the People, the venerable Name was still made use of to force Obedience, on a groundless Supposition, that an Assembly with only the Name was invested with all the Authority of a Parliament legally convened. Upon this Foundation, the Tyrants of the Nation pretended a Power to enact Laws, to Ordain, to Decree, in as ample a manner as could have been done by a Parliament, compleat in all its Forms. I shall not stay to expose the Extravagance of this Pretension. It is evident, that the Persons who extolled it the most, were not altogether satisfied with it; but as no other Foundation was to be had, the Fabrick was erected upon this, as little solid and safe as it was.

Upon Cromwell's Authority.

Cromwell's Authority was not at all better supported. His Usurpation was so evident, that a Man must have wilfully shut his Eyes not to see it. He himself was so convinced of it, that he had tried to have his Power confirmed by a free Parliament, as the only Way left to make him easie in the Exercise of it. But failing of Success, he continued where he was;

was; that is to ſay, inveſted with a Dignity from Hands which had no Power to beſtow it. The Authority of a Parliament therefore appeared to him abſolutely Neceſſary to confirm him in his own. But as he had felt by Experience what was to be expected from a free Parliament, he was reſolved to call one which might be more at command. He iſſued out Writs accordingly for the meeting of a Parliament on the 17th of *September*; but his Meaſures were ſo well taken, that though the People ſeem to enjoy full Liberty in the choice of their Repreſentatives, he made ſure of a Majority of Voices. Beſides, no Man was admitted to ſit in the Houſe, who had not firſt engaged himſelf under his Hand, to give no Diſturbance to the eſtabliſhed Government. This Parliament, compoſed of the Repreſentatives of the three Kingdoms, met on the Day appointed. But more than a Hundred Members refuſing to ſign the *Engagement*, were denied their Seats in the Houſe. The reſt appeared from the firſt Moment reſigned to the Commands of *Cromwell*. An Act was forthwith paſſed for renouncing the Title of *Charles Stuart*, ſo they called the King, and this *Act* was ſigned by all the Members. By another it was declared High-Treaſon to attempt any thing againſt the Life of the *Protector*. In ſhort, in the ſpace of a few Months the Parliament liberally granted all the Money deſired by *Cromwell*, either for the Maintenance of the Army and Government, or the Continuation of the War againſt *Spain*. 1656.

Some Days before the Parliament met, *Blake* and *Montague*, their Admirals, falling in with Eight *Spaniſh* Ships returning from the *Indies* richly laden, took two of them, and ran ſome others aſhore. This Action was performed near *Cadiz*, where the *Engliſh* Admirals had long attended in expectation of this Fleet. *Cromwell* ordered the two Ships that had been taken to be brought into the Harbour of *Portſmouth*, and the Money and Merchandiſe were brought

1656. brought in Waggons, in a ſort of Triumph to *London*.

1656-7. In the Month of *February* 1656-7, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered by *Cromwell*, laid againſt his Perſon by one *Sindercome*, diſcharged out of his Horſe Guards. This Man being convicted, and condemned to die, was found dead in Priſon, the Day on which he was to have been executed *.

1657. About two Months after ſome *Anabaptiſts* were diſcovered, who had been engaged in a Deſign againſt *Cromwell*'s Life. Major-General *Harriſon*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, Colonel *Rich*, Major *Danvers* and ſome others, all *Anabaptiſts*, on Suſpicion of being concerned in the Conſpiracy, were put under Arreſt.

Blake's *Attempt upon the Galeons at St.* Croix *in the* Canary *Iſles.*

From the Time that *Blake* and *Montague* had taken the two Ships before-mentioned, they had continued cruiſing off of *Cadiz*, in expectation of the *Spaniſh* Fleet returning from *Peru*. As this Fleet did not appear, though it ſhould now have been arrived, *Blake* had Notice that it was retired to *Tenariff*, one of the *Canary* Iſles, with Deſign to ſtay there till the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould be ſailed from *Cadiz*. Purſuant to this Advice, he turned his Courſe to the *Canary* Iſles about the beginning of *April*, and found there the *Spaniſh* Fleet, conſiſting of ſix *Galeons* richly laden, and ten other Veſſels of leſs Burthen. The Commander of this Fleet had anchored in the Harbour of St. *Croix*, and taken all imaginable Care to ſecure himſelf againſt an Attack. The ten Veſſels were moored cloſe to the Land, and defended by two Forts well mounted with Guns, and ſeveral Batteries erected on the Shore. But the *Galeons* drawing more Water, and ſo not able to ſail far

* He was tried at the Upper Bench-bar. The Court declared, "That by the Common Law, to Compaſs or Imagine the Death "of the chief Magiſtrate, by what Name ſoever he was called, "whether *Lord Protector*, or otherwiſe, is High Treaſon, and that "the Statute 25 *Edw.* 3. was only declaratory of the Common "Law." *Whit.* p. 645.

far enough into the Harbour, remained farther out, though at as little Diſtance, as was poſſible, and preſented their Broad-ſides to the Sea, that they might be able all at once to Fire upon the Enemy. *Blake* ſeeing no poſſibility of coming up to the ten Veſſels, reſolved, notwithſtanding the Raſhneſs of the Undertaking, to fall upon the *Galeons*. Accordingly being ſeconded by a favourable Wind, he approached the *Galeons*, received their Fire, and boarded them. The Particulars of this Engagement are related with ſuch Confuſion, that we can give no clear Account of it. This however is certain, that *Blake*, after an obſtinate Fight, made himſelf Maſter of the *Galeons*; and the Wind, which had brought him into the Port, not allowing him to carry them out, he ſet them on Fire. Immediately after a Land-Breeze ſpringing up put him ſafe to Sea again. The *Spaniards* on this Occaſion ſuſtained a very great Loſs in Ships, Money, Men and Merchandize: But the *Engliſh* themſelves brought nothing off but the Glory of the Enterprize. *Blake* dying on Ship-board on his return to *England*, was pompouſly interred by *Cromwell*, in *Henry* the VIIth's Chapel among the Monuments of the Kings. 1657. *Deſtroys them.*

The Parliament which met the 17th of *September*, continued their Seſſion, being taken up with the moſt important Affair that could ever come before them, without interruption. Whether *Cromwell* had before laid the Deſign of riſing ſtill higher, or the favourable Diſpoſition of the Houſe to his Intereſts, gave him the Thought, he ſuddenly became more Popular than he had ever been before. He careſſed all Parties alike; the *Presbyterians* were under-hand flattered with Hopes of his coming over to their Sentiments; the Nobility met with better Treatment from him, and he appeared leſs incenſed againſt the King's Party. At laſt, after his Friends and Creatures had been long labouring to diſpoſe Men in his Favour, a Member of Parliament, one of the City Aldermen, propoſed in direct Terms, that he might be *Debates in the Houſe concerning making an Offer of the Crown to* Cromwell. *The Motion firſt made by an Alderman of* London, *and incouraged by others.*

1657. be inveſted with the Title of King. This Propoſition was immediately ſeconded by a great many Members, and it was obſerved, that even his known Enemies came willingly into it. Theſe Men ſaw no other Way more likely to incourage Plots and Conſpiracies againſt him, which might at laſt end in his Ruin. For the very ſame Reaſon his principal Friends oppoſed the Deſign with all their Power. It is nevertheleſs very probable that this Project was not formed without his Knowledge, though he thought not fit to let either *Desborrow* his Brother-in-Law, or *Fleetwood* his Son-in-Law into it, from whom it met with the greateſt Oppoſition. This Contrariety between the Friends of *Cromwell*, held theſe Perſons in ſuſpence, who had no other View than to make their Court to him, and made them irreſolute what to do. Wherefore this Propoſition was diſcuſſed in the Houſe two ſucceſſive Days. In all appearance the Perſons who were in this Uncertainty were informed, in this Interval, what they had to do. However that be, it was at laſt carried by a Majority of Voices, to make an Offer of the Crown to *Cromwell*. Purſuant to this Reſolution the Houſe immediately appointed a *Committee* to acquaint his Highneſs with what had been reſolved for the publick Good. He ſeemed ſurprized with the Offer, and told the Committee that he thought it very ſtrange the Parliament ſhould have entertained ſuch a Deſign. That he neither believed that the Houſe ought to make the Offer, nor that himſelf could with any Conſcience accept it. The Committee expecting no other Anſwer, replied, That they did not at all queſtion but he would grant their Deſires, when he was made acquainted with the Reaſons on which the Parliament had founded their Reſolution, and to which they beſought him only to lend an Ear. Whereupon he appointed a Day to hear what they had to ſay to him *.

Cromwell waited on by a Committee with the Offer of the Crown.

The

* *Whitlock*'s Account is thus: The Parliament had been long about

1657.

Reaſons laid before him to prevail with him to accept it.

The Committee, on the Day appointed, entertained him with long Diſcourſes, to let him into the Reaſons on which the Parliament founded their Requeſt, the principal whereof were theſe: "That the "People of *England* had for many Ages been ac- "cuſtomed to the Government of Kings. That in "receeding from this Government an Abolition of "ſeveral Laws, Cuſtoms, and Formalities, and an "Eſtabliſhment of others in their Room was ne- "ceſſary, which would never be endured by the "People on account of their Novelty. That by "the Tenour of the Laws of *England*, there could "be no Security or Safety to any Act of the Go- "vernment, without the Intervention and Authori- "ty of a King. That no Man hitherto concerned "in the War, and the Changes lately made, could "be ſafe as to what he had acted, but would remain "liable to the moſt dangerous Inquiries from the "Laws of his Country. That the Conſpiracies "which were every Day diſcovered, clearly ſhewed "that the People are reſolved upon having a King, "nor would be ſatisfied without one. In a Word, "That the Kingdom would never arrive at any "peaceable Settlement, till Things were brought "back to their old Channel. That it was very "true the Royal Family had been rejected on ac- "count of their Tyrannies; but this was no Ob- "jection to the chuſing a King out of another Fa- "mily, nor could any Kingdom be produced where "the like had not been done, as well as in *Eng- "land.*"

Theſe

about *the ſettling of the Nation*, and had framed a Writing which they ſtiled, *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *to his Highneſs*. The firſt Buſineſs of it was *for the* Protector *to have the Title of King*. This *Petition* and *Advice* was preſented to his Highneſs by the Houſe, and he deſired that a Committee might be appointed to confer with him about it; which was named, and *Whitlock*, one of the Committee, was made Chairman. When the Committee attended his Highneſs, *Whitlock* ſpoke to him upon *the Title of King*, giving Reaſons why he ſhould accept of it. The *Protector* urged his Reaſons againſt it, and *Whitlock* replied. The whole Debate is in Print. *Whit. Mem.* p. 646.

1657. These very Reasons had been alledged in the Debates in the House, and were replied to by the *Republicans* to this Effect: "That an Oath had been "taken to be faithful to a Common-wealth without "a King; but to make one, was returning back to "*Egypt*. What could be the Inducement to have "recourse to Kings, since it was on all Hands al-"lowed that the Rights of the Subject had been in-"vaded by them? That it was advantagious to "all the Subjects to be equally liable to an Enquiry "into their Actions, in order to a more firm Uni-"on amongst themselves. That if a King was ne-"cessary, no Person was more proper, than him "who had the fairest Pretension to the Crown." *Cromwell* was not unacquainted with the Reasons alledged on both Sides, and therefore to let the World see that he resolved neither to accept nor refuse the Offer without Deliberation, he appointed the 8th of *May* for the receiving his final Answer.

He is greatly perplexed what Choice to make.

It is pretended, that in this Interval, he was in the utmost Trouble and Distraction of Mind, not knowing what to determine. His Ambition prompted him to accept the proffered Crown, the whole Intrigue probably being managed by his own Direction. But the Disposition of his Kindred and Friends made him tremble. For with what Sense could he promise himself any Duty and Allegiance from Strangers, when he saw his own most intimate Friends upon the Point of deserting him if he complied with the Offer? It is even said, that his Life was threatened by some of them, and that he was informed of a Plot to assassinate him, as soon as he had accepted the Crown. The very Day that his Answer was to be given, *Desborrow* and *Fleetwood*, walking with him in St. *James*'s Park, gave him to understand that if he accepted the Crown, he was no longer to depend upon their Assistance. These Considerations laid together quite sunk his Courage, and lost him a Crown just within his Reach, and ready, upon his bare Consent, to be placed on his Head. His Answer

Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

swer therefore to the Committee was, an absolute refusal to be King. Whether his Interest was well or ill consulted in this Refusal, is a Problem which may be argued either way with great Probability. My Opinion is, that the Advantages which might be expected from his accepting the Crown, did not, in the private Thoughts of this able Politician, ballance the Inconveniences with which it might be attended. 1657. *Refuses the Crown, 8th of May.*

Nevertheless, to reward in some Measure so great a Moderation, the Parliament confirmed to him his Dignity of *Protector*, with an Addition of more Power than had been annexed to it by the Council of the Officers. This was done by a solemn Act, called *The Humble Petition and Advice* *, the Parliament thereby insinuating that it had no Intention to impose a *Law* upon him; but an *Advice*, which was submitted to his Judgement and Direction, with freedom, either to accept or refuse it, as best suited his own Interest and Inclination. This Act contained in Substance: *Is confirmed in his Protectorship by the Parliament.*

"That his Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title of *Protector*, be pleased to execute "the Office of Chief Magistrate, over *England*, "*Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, and to govern according to all Things in that *Petition* and *Advice*. And also that he would in his Life-time appoint the Person that should succeed him in the "Government: That he would call a Parliament "consisting of two Houses once in a Year at farthest: That those Persons who are legally chosen "by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their "Duties, but by Consent of that House whereof "they are Members: That none but those under "the Qualifications therein mentioned, should be "capable to serve as Members in Parliament: That *Contents of the Act of the humble Petition and Advice.* Clarend. VI. p. 596.

* The Reader may see it at large in *Whitlock's Mem.* p. 678.

1647. "the Power of the other House be limited as therein is prescribed: That the Laws and Statutes of "the Land be observed and kept; no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated or repealed, but by new "Laws made by Act of Parliament: That the yearly Sum of a Million of Pounds *Sterling* be settled "for the Maintenance of the Navy and Army; "and three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the "Support of the Government; besides other temporary Supplies as the Commons in Parliament "shall see the Necessities of the Nation to require: "That the Number of the *Protector*'s Council shall "not exceed One and Twenty, whereof Seven shall "be a *Quorum* (*a*). The chief Officers of the State, "as Chancellors, Keepers of the Great-Seal, *&c.* "to be approved by Parliament: That his Highness would encourage a godly Ministry in these "Nations; and that such as do revile and disturb "them in the Worship of God, may be punished "according to Law; and where Laws are defective, new ones to be made: That the *Protestant* "*Christian Religion*, as it is contained in the *Old* and "*New Testament*, be asserted and held forth for the "Publick Profession of these Nations, and no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed "upon, and recommended to the People of these "Nations; and none to be permitted by Words, or "Writing, to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith."

The general Terms in which the Three last Articles relating to Religion are expressed, make it clear, that the Intention of the Parliament, or rather of *Cromwell* who ruled them, was to oblige equally the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. The former, in the support

(*a*) The Expression is taken from the Clause inserted in most Commissions, in which after the Number of Commissioners is fixed, the King appoints some particular Persons amongst them, who are to be present to give a Validity to all Acts done in Virtue of the Commission, and this he does by saying, *a quorum esse numero volumus*, &c.

ſupport of the Miniſtry, upon the Foot of its preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the latter in introducing into Religion, a Latitude which left to every Man a Liberty to believe and practiſe as he pleaſed, and both Parties in equally flattering their Hopes with a Confeſſion of Faith, in which either of them ſhould find their Account. The Epiſcopalians alone could not expect any Advantage. 1657.

Cromwell having ſworn to the punctual Obſervation of theſe Articles, appointed the 26th of *June* for the Day of his Inauguration, which was ſolemnized with great Pomp *. He was, doubtleſs, of Opinion, that this ſecond Inauguration was Neceſſary to ſupply the Defects of the firſt, which had been made without any lawful Authority. This done, the Houſe adjourned to the 20th of *January* 1657-8.

Cromwell *ſolemnly inaugurated*, 26th *of* June. Baker, p. 630.

* A Place being prepared at the upper End of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in the midſt of it was ſet a rich Cloth of State, with a Chair of State under it, upon an Aſcent of two Steps. Before it a Table and Chair for the Speaker, and on each Side of the Hall covered Seats one over another for the Members. About two a Clock his Highneſs came, the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the Sword before him, and the Lord Mayor of *London* with the City Sword. His Highneſs ſtanding under the Cloth of State, the Speaker preſented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet lined with *Ermins*, which the Speaker, aſſiſted by *Whitlock*, put upon him. Then he delivered to him the Bible richly gilt and boſſed; after that he girt on his Sword, and delivered into his Hands the Scepter of Maſſy Gold, and then made a Speech to him, and gave him the Oath. After this the People gave ſeveral Shouts, and the Trumpets ſounded: The *Protector* ſate in the Chair of State holding the Scepter in his Hand; on his Right Side ſate the Ambaſſador of *France*, on the Left the Ambaſſador of the *United-Provinces*: Near him ſtood his Son *Richard*, *Fleetwood* Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, *Claypole* Maſter of the Horſe, the Council and others of State. The Earl of *Warwick* held the Sword on the Right, and the Lord-Mayor the City Sword on the Left Side of the Chair. Near the Earl of *Warwick* ſtood Viſcount *Liſle*, Earl of *Montague* and *Whitlock*, each of them with a drawn Sword in their Hands. Then the Trumpets ſounded, and a Herald proclaimed his Highneſſes's Title, and Proclamation was made to the People, crying, *God ſave the Protector*. The Ceremonies being ended, he went in State to *Weſtminſter-Hall-Gate*, where he took Coach, and went to the Houſe, and paſſed ſome Bills. *Whit. Mem.* p. 662.

1657. *A League Offensive and Defensive between* France *and* Cromwell.

After the antient Treaties between *France* and *England* had been renewed, a Negotiation was set on Foot to make a League Offensive and Defensive against *Spain*. This Negotiation begun by the Ambassador of *France* in the Year 1656 at *London*, was concluded at *Paris* the 13th of *March* 1657, by a Treaty of League which ran that *Cromwell* should join Six Thousand Men with the *French* Army; that *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk* should be Besieged, and when taken, delivered into the Hands of the *English* (*a*).

March 13. Aubery's *History of Cardinal* Mazarine.

King Charles *makes an Alliance with* Spain. Clarend. VI.

King *Charles* informed of this Negotiation which had been depending from the Year 1656 to the Year 1657, sent a trusty Messenger to Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, to make him the Offer of a League with *Spain*. The King's Intion was to give himself a Reputation by a League made with this Crown; and moreover, he was desirous to reside in the *Low-Countries* to be nearer *England*, when his Presence there should be wanted. The Arch-Duke accepted the Proposal, believing that if the King of *England* was fixed to the Interests of *Spain*, he would have Credit enough to draw the *Irish* Forces from the *French*, into the *Spanish* Service. This was all the Advantage which *Spain* had to expect from a League with a Prince, who indeed had nothing to offer. Nay, he was even to be subsisted by that Crown, when ever *France* should withdraw his Maintenance. However that be, the King and Arch-Duke concluded a Treaty, by which the King had Liberty to reside at *Bruges*, without any Notice to be taken of it by *Spain*, which was but little able to give him a Reception and Entertainment suitable to his Dignity. *Spain* was moreover to furnish him with Six Thousand Men, as soon as he should become Master of any good Port in *England*. The King satisfied with these Conditions, because he had

(*a*) Some Authors by confounding these two Treaties, the one of the 23d of *October* 1655, and the other of the 3d of *March* 1657, have fallen into some Mistakes.

had nothing to offer to procure better, ſigned the Treaty which was ratified by the King of *Spain*. Upon the Ratification, *Philip* ſettled upon the King a Monthly Penſion of ſix Thouſand *Livres*, and another of three Thouſand upon the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who had been ſent for out of *France* by his Brother the King, from his Mother, who was uſing all her Sollicitations to make him change his Religion. Thus the King left *Cologne* in *April* 1657, and retired to *Bruges* at the ſame time that Arch-Duke *Leopold* reſigned the Government of the *Low-Countries* into the Hands of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son of *Philip* IV. Afterwards the King prevailed with the Lord *Muskerry*, Colonel of an *Iriſh* Regiment in the Pay of *France*, to deſert the Service of that Crown, and come into that of *Spain*. He alſo found Means to bring four Regiments, *Engliſh*, *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, to make him the Offer of their Service in ſingle Companies. Theſe Regiments, though not in very good Order, ſerved in the *Spaniſh* Army.

1657.

Has a Penſion granted from that Crown of 6000 Livres *per Month.*

Goes to reſide at Bruges.

As ſoon as the Treaty was ſigned between *France* and *England*, Cardinal *Mazarin* ſignified to the Duke of *York*, that he was to retire out of the Dominions of *France*. All the *Engliſh* of the King's Party, in the Pay of *France*, had the ſame Orders, and amongſt the reſt the Lord *Digby*, now become Earl of *Briſtol* upon the Death of his Father, and a Convert to the Catholick Religion. All theſe *Engliſh* thus diſmiſſed from *France*, retired into the *Low-Countries*, ſome to their King, the reſt to find Employment in the Service of *Don John*.

The Duke of York *obliged to quit* France. Clarend. VI. p. 610.

In Conſequence of the League, *Cromwell* ſent ſix Thouſand Men of his beſt Troops into *France* under the Command of *Reynolds*, who had concluded the Treaty at *Paris* in Quality of his Ambaſſador. In this *Campaign*, ſeveral Places were taken from the *Spaniards*, and amongſt the reſt *Mardyke*, which was delivered to the *Engliſh*. *Reynolds* was unhappily drowned in his Return to *England*, and ſucceeded in the Command of the *Engliſh* Forces in the Service of *France*.

Cromwell *ſends ſix Thouſand* Engliſh *into* France. 23*d of* October.

1657. *France*, by *Lockhart* a *Scotch* Man, and then Ambaſſador to that Crown.

1657-8. *Compoſes another Houſe of Parliament.*

As by the 3d Article of the *Humble Petition* and *Advice*, it was provided that the *Protector* ſhould every Year ſummon a Parliament compoſed of two Houſes, *Cromwell* reſolved not to be wanting in the Obſervation of this Article, which had been inſerted into the Inſtrument by his ſole Direction. He therefore choſe a certain Number at his own Pleaſure, to fill up his other Houſe. Moſt of theſe were Army-Officers, or other Perſons devoted to him, to whom he would have added ſome of the antient Peers; but they refuſed to take their Seats with theſe Men. Having made his Choice, he iſſued out his Writs for their Meeting in Parliament, in a ſeparate Houſe, the 20th of *January* 1657-8. His Intention was to have this Houſe conſidered as a Houſe of Peers, and inveſted with the ſame Honours and Priviledges, which the Peers had ever enjoyed. He durſt not give it the Name of the Houſe of Peers, but contented himſelf with calling it the *Other Houſe*, till a more favourable Conjuncture ſhould allow it the aſſuming a higher and more agreeable Title *.

Deſigns of his Enemies againſt him.

Cromwell, as has been ſaid, had created himſelf a great many Enemies, not only amongſt the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians*, but even among the *Independents* themſelves. Theſe laſt were exceedingly provoked at his having made them the Tools of his Ambition, while they thought they were labouring under him to eſtabliſh a *Republican*-Government. The Sequel made it evident to them, that in aboliſhing the Regal Title, he never had Intention to deſtroy the Monarchy.

* The Form of the Writs was the ſame with thoſe which were uſed to be ſent to ſummon the *Peers* in Parliament. They were in all Sixty; among whom were divers Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen of antient Families and good Eſtates, and *ſome* Colonels and Officers of the Army. This is *Whitlock*'s Account who was one of them, and who has given us the Names of all the Sixty. Among whom were 4 Earls, 2 Viſcounts, and ſeveral Lords, as the Reader may ſee, *p.* 665. of *Whitlock's Mem.* And here again there is Reaſon to wiſh *Rapin* had ſeen *Whitlock's Mem.*

narchy. ſince under the Name of *Protector*, he had graſped the Supreme Power. They therefore looked upon him as the moſt perfidious of Men, and were not leſs his Enemies than either *Presbyterians* or *Royaliſts*. He had no other Support than the Army, filled by himſelf with *Fanaticks* and *Enthuſiaſts*, who had wrought themſelves into a Belief that the Time was come to erect a *Fifth-Monarchy*, or the Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt* upon Earth. *Cromwell* was not ignorant of the Deſign his Enemies had to deſtroy him, on pretence of raiſing him Higher, and this had made him refuſe the Title of King. It was likewiſe with a View to break their Meaſures, that he had asked and obtained a Power of inſtituting another Houſe, to oppoſe it occaſionally to the Deſigns of the Houſe of Commons, where he knew he had a Number of Enemies; and of this he had Cauſe very ſoon to be ſtill more ſenſible. 1657-8.

The Parliament meets in two Houſes.

His Enemies having had Leiſure to concert their Meaſures during the Adjournment, took another Courſe to deſtroy him when the Parliament met again. As by the IIId * Article of the *Humble Petition* and *Advice*, it was provided that the Members which had been legally choſen ſhould not be excluded without the Conſent of their own Houſe, a Motion was made to admit into the Houſe all the elected Members, who had refuſed to ſign the *Engagement*. This Motion was ſo ſuddenly received and approved, that *Cromwell* had no Time to oppoſe it, and he could have done it with the leſs Grace, as it was countenanced by a ſolemn Act, which himſelf had ſworn to obſerve. By this Means more than a hundred Members, *Republicans* and *Presbyterians*, all his ſworn Enemies, were admitted into the Houſe of Commons *1. From this Time the State of Affairs began to change, *Cromwell*'s Enemies having gained a Superiority in that very Houſe which had made him the Offer of the

20th of January, 1657-8.

The excluded Members received into it, who were Cromwell's Enemies.

* *Rapin* by Miſtake ſays the IVth. See the Petition, *Whit.* p. 678.

*1 Among whom particularly were Sir *Harry Vane*, *Haſlerig*, and many others of great Credit and Intereſt.

1657-8. Crown. As their Deſigns againſt him were deeply laid, their firſt Care was to prevent any Interruption from the Negative of the other Houſe, who were all his Creatures. The Authority therefore of that Houſe was firſt called to Queſtion, and it was argued that it could have no *Negative*, ſince the Houſe of Commons, which had given it a Being, had never pretended to make *Peers* of Men, who had no other Power than what the Houſe of Commons had thought fit to grant them. It was added, that for this Reaſon the *Humble Petition* and *Advice* had provided that the Power of the other Houſe ſhould be limited. *Cromwell*, who well knew the Tendency of all this, called the Parliament to *Whitehall*, and in a Speech maintained the Authority of the *other Houſe* with ſuch Vehemence, that the Commons fearing an immediate Diſſolution, found it Neceſſary to acknowledge the *other Houſe* as an eſſential Part of the Parliament.

The Parliament examines the Validity of the Humble Petition *and* Advice. Baker, p. 601.

This however did not prevent the Commons from taking into Conſideration the *Act* intituled the *Humble Petition* and *Advice*, and many were of Opinion that it was all null and void, as it was made when a great Number of the Members were excluded from Parliament, without any lawful Cauſe or Objection. This Freedom ſtruck openly at the Act itſelf, and conſequently at *Cromwell*'s Protectorſhip which was confirmed by it. *Cromwell* was too quick-ſighted not to ſee that his Intereſt was concerned to allow no long Seſſion to this Parliament. He therefore came to the *other Houſe*, and calling the Commons before him, ſpoke to them in theſe Terms:

Cromwell's Speech to the Parliament.

I had a very comfortable Expectation that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Bleſſing; and the Lord be my Witneſs, I deſire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to theſe Ends. The Bleſſing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs, and Peace, which I deſire may be improved.

That

1658.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now ſtand in, was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who, in reference to the Antient Conſtitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector. There is not a Man living can ſay I ſought it; no, not a Man, nor a Woman treading upon Engliſh *Ground; but I, contemplating the ſad Condition of theſe Nations, relieved from an Inteſtine War unto a Six or Seven Years Peace, did think the Nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and adviſed by you to undertake ſuch a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the Houſe that had then the Legiſlative Capacity, I did look that the ſame Men that made the Frame, ſhould make it good unto me: I can ſay in the Preſence of God, in compariſon of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood-ſide, to have kept a Flock of Sheep, rather than undertaken ſuch a Government as this is; but undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you that had offered it unto me ſhould make it good.*

I did tell you, at a Conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it unleſs there might be ſome other Perſon that might interpoſe between me and the Houſe of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits, and it was granted I ſhould make another Houſe; and I named it of Men that ſhall meet you whereſoever you go, and ſhake Hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party, that they value, but a Chriſtian and an Engliſh *Intereſt, Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themſelves, while you love* England *and Religion.*

Having proceeded upon theſe Terms, and finding ſuch a Spirit is too much predominant, any Thing being too high or too low, when Virtue, Honeſty, Piety and Juſtice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have ſatisfied you; but if every Thing muſt be too high or too low, you are not to be ſatisfied.

Again,

1658. *Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governour and the governed, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their Part answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what Condition they Swore? God knows, I took it upon Condition expressed in the Government: And I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom; and thereupon I thought my self bound to take it, and to be advised by the two Houses of Parliament. We standing unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Consequences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted hereditary Lords, nor hereditary Kings; the Power consisting in the two Houses and my self. I do not say, what the meaning of your Oath was to you, that were to go against my own Principles to enter upon another Man's Conscience; God will judge between me and you: If there had been in you any Intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this Basis, and have offered your Judgment and Opinion.*

God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World and People living, that a new Business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to these Gentlemen or Lords, pointing to his Right Hand, *whatsoever you will call them, I speak not this to them, but to you; you advised me to run into this Place to be in a Capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a Thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusion in this fifteen or sixteen Days that you have sate, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this Day, thorough the Intention of devising a Common-wealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that Thing; and hath that Man been true to this*

Nation, whoſoever he be, eſpecially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? Theſe Deſigns have been upon the Army, to break and divide us: I ſpeak this in the Preſence of ſome of the Army, that theſe Things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will.) Theſe Things tend to nothing elſe but the playing of the King of Scot's *Game, if I may ſo call him; I think my ſelf bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banqueting-Houſe was true, that there were Preparations of Force to invade as; God is my Witneſs it hath been confirmed to me ſince within a Day, that the King hath an Army at the Water-ſide ready to be ſhipped for* England. *I have it from thoſe who have been Eye-witneſſes of it. And while it is doing, there are Endeavours from ſome who are not far from this Place, to ſtir up the People of this Town into Tumulting. What if I had ſaid unto Rebellion? and I hope I ſhall make it appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me; it hath been not only your Endeavour to pervert the Army, while you have been ſitting, and to draw them to ſtate the Queſtion about the Commonwealth, but ſome of you have been liſting of Perſons by Commiſſion from* Charles Stuart, *to join with an Inſurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even preſent Blood and Confuſion. And if this be ſo as I do aſſign to this Cauſe, your not aſſenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the Settlement of the Nation, and if this be the End of your ſitting, and this be your Carriages, I think it high time that an End be put unto your ſitting, and I do declare to you, I do Diſſolve this Parliament: And let God judge between me and you.* At which many of the Commons cried *Amen.* 1658.

After the Parliament was diſſolved *Cromwell* either ſuſpecting, or perhaps informed, that *Lambert* was one of the principal Managers of the Conſpiracy which had been laid againſt him, turned him out of all his Employments. *Fleetwood* was recalled from *Ireland*

Lambert turned out of his Preferments.

Succeeded by Fleetwood.

1658. *Who is succeeded by* Henry Cromwell.

Ireland to succeed *Lambert* in the Lieutenant-Generalship, and *Henry Cromwell*, younger Son of the *Protector*, was sent into *Ireland* in *Fleetwood*'s room. After *Cromwell* had been confirmed in the *Protectorate*, he had called his eldest Son *Richard* up to Court *, and made him *Chancellor* of the University of *Oxford*. He had married his second Daughter to the Lord *Falconbridge*, and his third to Mr. *Rich*, Grand-son to the Earl of *Warwick*. His eldest had long before been married to Mr. *Claypool*, and a fourth named *Elizabeth*, lived unmarried, if I am not mistaken, till the Reign of *William* III. *1: Soon after the Dismission of *Lambert*, *Cromwell* so reduced the Authority of the Major-Generals, that they had no longer the Power, which they had before, of oppressing the People. In all appearance they had been too busie in tampering with the Army, and that it was this which was hinted at by the *Protector* in his Speech to the Parliament. It is pretended that he had a Design of making a greater Reform in his Army, and of dismissing every Person of suspected Fidelity to himself. But he had not time to put his Project in Execution.

Cromwell's *Family.*

He reduces the Power of the Major-Generals.

A Conspiracy of the Royalists.

It was not without Ground that *Cromwell* spoke of a Conspiracy carrying on in *England* in Favour of the King. The *Royalists* persisting in their Persuasion, that all who were Enemies either of *Cromwell* or his Government, were secretly in the Interests of the King, formed upon this Foundation a Design to place him upon the Throne by the Assistance of his greatest Enemies. This would appear incredible, if

* He had till this Time lived privately in the Country upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him, in a Village in *Hampshire*. Clarend.

*1 The Marriages of his Daughters; *Mary* to the Lord *Falconbridge*, and *Frances* to Mr. *Rich*, the Earl of *Warwick*'s Grand-son, were celebrated first according to Ceremonies then in use, but privately afterwards according to Rites of the Church of *England*. *Bridget* had two Husbands, *Ireton* and *Fleetwood*, and *Elizabeth* (whom *Rapin* by Mistake says lived unmarried) was Wife to *Claypole*. The Lady *Falconbridge* lived to extreme old Age.

if they had not given frequent Inſtances of this their Prejudice. The Deſign was, as uſual, to raiſe Inſurrections in different Parts of the Kingdom, in a Belief that the King's private Friends would not let ſlip the Occaſion of joining thoſe who ſhould be in Arms. The principal Contrivers of this Plot were Mr. *Mordaunt* Brother of the Earl of *Peterborough*, Sir *Henry Slingsby* a rich and popular Man in the County of *York*, and Dr. *Hewet* a Miniſter of the Church of *England*. This Deſign had been repreſented to the King in ſo advantagious a Light from the general Uneaſineſs under the preſent Government, that he conceived Hopes of Succeſs. And therefore he had made ſome Preparations in the *Low-Countries*, and the four Regiments raiſed by him, and after the Miſcarriage, put into the Service of *Spain*, were intended to ſupport this Deſign. He had moreover ſent Commiſſions into *England*, for thoſe who would engage in his Service. One of theſe Commiſſions to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe had been granted to one Mr. *Hopley*, whoſe Father had been *Cromwell*'s faſt Friend, and one of the King's Judges. *Cromwell*, having ſome Intimation of the Deſign, ſent for *Hopley*, and by his Addreſs brought him to a Diſcovery of the whole Conſpiracy, and a Confeſſion that he had received his Commiſſion from the Hands of Mr. *Mordaunt*. He told him that the Marqueſs of *Ormond* had been at *London*, and made a Stay of three Weeks to concert Meaſures with the Conſpirators, and give them his Directions; and this was true. The Earl of *Clarendon* intimates that the Marqueſs had not found Things ripe for the Execution; and nevertheleſs the great Number of Commiſſions granted, ſhew that the Court had a better Opinion of the Undertaking. However that be, the Marqueſs had the good Luck to leave *England*, and be back with the King, before *Cromwell* knew that he had been there. Immediately after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, *Mordaunt*, *Slingsby* and *Hewet* were committed to the *Tower*, and their Accompli-

1658.

Diſcovered by Hopley.

1658. ces, to a great Number, were apprehended in all Parts of the Kingdom. *Cromwell* created a High-Court of Juſtice * for the Trial of the Criminals, and eſpecially of the three Principal. Mr. *Mordaunt* eſcaped Death by the Management of his Wife, who bribed ſome of the Judges, and found Means to help one of the two Witneſſes againſt her Husband to make his Eſcape. *Harry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned and executed. Before the ſame Court were tried, condemned, executed and quartered for the ſame Crime *Aſhton*, *Stacy*, and *Battely*. Some others were condemned, and pardoned by *Cromwell*, who was unwilling to create any more Enemies. It is certain that he had a great many, and that thoſe who had been moſt zealouſly attached to him while he was believed to be in their Views, hated him mortally, after they had found he had deceived them.

Slingsby, Hewet *and others executed.*

Addreſs of ſome Sectaries to the King. Clarend. VI. p. 625.

The Earl of *Clarendon* gives us on this Occaſion a long Addreſs to the King, from numbers of *Independents*, *Quakers* and *Anabaptiſts*, brought to him by a young Gentleman named *Sexby* *1, which ſuppoſed the Death of *Cromwell* to be near, and ſeemed to intimate a Deſign formed by them for his Aſſaſſination. To this Addreſs were annexed ſome Conditions demanded of the King, with which aſſuredly he could not comply. He therefore contented himſelf with returning a general Anſwer, that it was not his Inclination to perſecute any Man on account of his Religion, who behaved himſelf peaceably, and that they might hope for his Favour, if they did any Services

* Of which *Whitlock* was one of the Commiſſioners; but never ſate with them, it being againſt his Judgement. He was for trying the Conſpirators in the ordinary Courſe of *Common-Law*; but, ſays he, his Highneſs was too much in Love with the *new Way*, which he thought to be more effectual, and would the more terrify the Offenders. *Whit.* p. 674.

*1 *Sexby* was not the Perſon ſent with the Addreſs, though he was an Agent both for theſe People and the *Spaniards*. He was an illiterate but ſenſible Man, of no Family, and at firſt only a common Soldier in *Cromwell*'s Troops. The Perſon that brought the Addreſs was, the Lord *Clarendon* ſays, a young Gentleman of an honourable Extraction. *Clarend.* III. p. 625.

Services for him, which ſeemed intended by him to incourage them in the execution of their Deſign. It is certain, that theſe Men were hearty Enemies to *Cromwell*, but they depended too much on their own Strength, and filled their Heads with *Chimerical* Deſigns which they were not capable to execute. After all, the King would have received no Advantages from any Succeſs of theirs, as they had Principles ſo oppoſite to his. In all likelihood their Intention was to make uſe of the King's Name and Authority to accompliſh their own Deſigns; but not to place him upon the Throne in the Way that he deſired. Accordingly this Project proved abortive. 1658.

In the Month of *June*, this Year, Marſhal *de Turenne*, laid Siege to *Dunkirk*, contrary to the Opinion of *Don John* of *Auſtria*, who expected that he would have opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Cambray*. As this Belief had made him neglect the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, he ſaw himſelf under the Neceſſity of hazarding a Battle to ſave this Place, which was not in a Condition to make a long Reſiſtance. But this Battle proved fatal to the *Spaniards*, who were entirely defeated *, and the Siege continued by *Turenne*, who made himſelf Maſter of *Dunkirk* the 26th of *June*. The Town, in purſuance of the Treaty made with *England*, was ſurrendred into the Hands of *Cromwell*, who placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and made *Lockhart* the Governour. Dunkirk *taken*. *The Battle of* Dunes.

For ſome time backward *Cromwell* had been agitated with greater Cares and Fears than he had ever before diſcovered. And there was Reaſon for it, as he had Informations from divers Parts, of Deſigns laid to aſſaſſinate him, by the Hands of Men, who had been moſt zealouſly devoted to his Intereſts. This put him upon his Guard more than he had ever been before. He never laid twice together in the ſame Chamber, nor appeared in Publick without a ſtrong Dunkirk *delivered to* Cromwell.

* Chiefly by Means of *Lockhart* (who had married *Cromwell's* Niece) and his *Engliſh* Foot.

1658. a ſtrong Body of Guards. But all his Precautions to avoid a violent Death, could not ſecure him from a natural one. In *Auguſt*, this Year, he was ſeized with a Fever at *Hampton-Court*, which at firſt had no dangerous Symptoms; but his Diſtemper daily increaſing, he was brought to *Whitehall*, where, after having nominated his eldeſt Son *Richard* for his Succeſſor, he expired at the Age of 58 Years, and on the 3d of *September*, a Day which had been twice fortunate to him in two Battles gained; that of *Dunbar* in 1650, and that of *Worceſter* in 1651 *.

Cromwell's Death.

Deſcent and Character.

Cromwell's Family was originally of the County of *Glamorgan* in the Principality of *Wales*. It went then by the Name of *Williams*, and aſſumed that of *Cromwell*, and tranſmitted it to Poſterity, by a Marriage with a Daughter of *Cromwell*, *Vicar-General* in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. *Oliver Cromwell* was born in *Huntington* in the Year 1600 or 1601. His Education was but ordinary *1; nor is it known how he ſpent his Time before he arrived to about 35 Years of Age. He then began a Reformation of his Life, which was very regular, ſullied with no Action either Scandalous or Unbecoming. Probably he then, if not ſooner, engaged himſelf in the *Presbyterian* Party. A Reputation which he had acquired for Honeſty and Religion, and, without doubt, his Principles with relation to Government, were the Motives to his being returned for the Town of *Cambridge*, in the Parliament which met the 3d of *November* 1640. He ſate two Years in the Houſe undiſtinguiſhed for any Thing remarkable, as he had no great Talents to give him a Reputation amongſt the able Speakers. His Delivery was ruſtick and diſagreeable,

* *Whitlock* ſays, *Cromwell* went to Reſt in the Grave the ſame Day he had obtained the Victories at *Dunbar* and at *Worceſter*: after his many great Actions and Troubles, he now died quietly in his Bed. Some were of Opinion he was poiſoned. *Whit. Mem.* p 679.

*1 His Education was ſuitable to his Birth, being firſt ſent to *Cambridge*, and then to *Lincoln's-Inn*.

diſagreeable, and his Speeches prolix and confuſed. 1658.
It was, probably, in theſe two Years that he was gained by the *Independents*, and came over to their Faction then concealed under the Name of *rigid Presbyterians*. Agreeably to the Views and Intereſts of this Faction, *Cromwell* affected an extraordinary Zeal for the *Presbyterian* Model, and the Liberty of the Nation againſt the Uſurpations of the Court, in which he complied with the Humours of the then leading Members of the Houſe. Wherefore, on the breaking out of the Civil-War in 1642, he had a Poſt in the Army, as he was looked upon entirely devoted to the Houſe of Commons, of which he was a Member. He was from the firſt a *Major* of Horſe, and though he was two and Forty Years of Age before he had drawn a Sword, he ſo diſtinguiſhed his Valour while he wore this Commiſſion, that he was ſoon after made Colonel of a Regiment. The Army had not an Officer of more intrepid Bravery, nor one more eager to ſeek Occaſions to ſignalize his Courage. His Reputation roſe ſo faſt, that he became Major-General, then Lieutenant-General under *Fairfax*, and at laſt his Succeſſor. His great Talents for War were not at all inferiour to his Capacity in Civil Affairs. He entred into the deepeſt Deſigns of his Faction, and at laſt roſe to be one of its Chiefs, advancing here with the ſame Rapidity that he had done in the Army. He it was, who accuſing the Earl of *Munſter* of having been wanting in his Duty in the ſecond Battle of *Newberry*, broke the Ice, and gave Occaſion to the new modelling the Army, which was the firſt Step to the Triumph of the *Independents*. From this Time he was looked upon as the Chief of that Faction, and, properly ſpeaking, of the Army it ſelf, General *Fairfax* acting only as directed by him. I will carry no farther my Abridgement of a Hiſtory before enlarged upon. And will only ſay, that his Troops believed themſelves invincible with him at their Head, and that he was never once forced to turn his Back.

1658. The Victory gained over Prince *Rupert* at *Marſton-Moor*, was chiefly aſcribed to his Valour. The Reduction of *Ireland* in leſs than a Year, brought a great acceſſion to, and the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter* compleated his Glory.

Let us next view him in his Government after he became *Protector*. Here, if we compare him with the two laſt Kings, the Diſparity will be evident with regard to the Glory and Reputation of the *Engliſh* Nation. *James* I. and *Charles* I. ſeemed to have ſtudied how to debaſe the *Engliſh* Name; whereas *Cromwell*, in the Space of four or five Years carried it as high as it was capable to be raiſed, and in this Reſpect was not at all inferiour to *Elizabeth*. He was aqually dreaded by *France* and *Spain*, and the *United-Provinces*. And the Court paid him by theſe Three States, to obtain his Friendſhip, had ſomething in it even low and unbecoming. *Charles Guſtavus*, King of *Sweden*, thought himſelf honoured by his Alliance and Friendſhip. And in this Part of his Character, his greateſt Enemies cannot deny him their Praiſes.

Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Times.*

If we conſider him as a private Man, it may with Aſſurance be ſaid, That his Morals and Conduct were very regular. He had none of the Vices to which Men are commonly addicted. Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Gaming, Luxury, Avarice, Deſire of other Men's Goods, were Vices with which he was never reproached. On the contrary it is certain, that he promoted virtuous Men, and was inflexible in his Puniſhments of Vice and notoriouſly bad Actions. It is true, that his own Preſervation obliged him to employ Men of ill Principles; but this is no more than is commonly done by thoſe, who are at the Head of a Government.

In Religion he was *Independent*; but his Principle was to leave every Man at Liberty in the Religion he had choſen, and he raiſed no Perſecutions on this Account. He even connived at the private Meetings of thoſe who remained firm to the Church of *England*,

England, though he wanted no Informations of them. 1685.
If they were not favoured with a free and publick Exerciſe of their Religion, it was becauſe they were conſidered by him as Men, who were devoted to the King, always ready for any Enterprize in his Favour, and therefore the more to be watched and ſuſpected. Though his Sentiments were for the *Independent Scheme*, and by Conſequence at a great diſtance from any Union with the National Church, he however looked upon all *Proteſtant* Churches, as Parts of the *Proteſtant* Catholick Church, and without aiming to eſtabliſh *Independency* and *Fanaticiſm* by Force and Violence, he witneſſed on all Occaſions an extreme Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion. Dr. *Burnet*, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, acquaints us, that if *Cromwell* had accepted the Title of King, he intended to have eſtabliſhed a *Council* in imitation of that at *Rome*, *de propagandâ fide*, to have had an Eye to whatever was any where acting which could have any Relation to the Intereſts of the *Proteſtants*. He adds, that a Fund was to have been ſettled upon this Council of ten Thouſand Pounds a Year, for its neceſſary Expences, beſides five Hundred Pounds a piece to be allowed to each of the four Secretaries.

It may be added, to the Honour of *Cromwell*, that never Man was better acquainted with the inward Springs of Men's Actions, though he ſeemed not to have made them his particular Study. There never was a greater Addreſs than his to manage and bring over Men to his own Deſigns, nor a better Natural Capacity for Affairs, with no aſſiſtance from Study and Learning: For he retained hardly any thing of the ſmall ſtock of *Latin* he had brought from School. In a Word, never Man choſe his Party with ſo much Judgement, or executed his Deſigns with greater Vigour and Readineſs. Such in ſhort, were the Virtues and ſhining Qualities of *Cromwell*; but we muſt not conceal the Vices and Imperfections with which he is charged.

1685. The Accusation against him lies in three Articles: His seizing a Government to which he had no Right, out of boundless Ambition: His maintaining himself in it by a most shameless Dissimulation: And his delivering Numbers of his private Enemies into the Hands of the Executioner, without any regard to Laws established in *England* Time out of Mind. Upon these three Articles I shall offer some Considerations to the Reader, to assist him in forming a just Notion of *Cromwell*'s Character.

As to the first Accusation it is to be considered, that as much as the Memory of *Cromwell*, and his Seizure of the Government are traduced by the *Royalists*, and this Seizure made the Foundation of all their Complaints, it is nevertheless certain that the King was no way interested in the Change. It was not *Charles* II, but a *Republican* Parliament which was stripped of the Supreme Power by *Cromwell*. Even though he had been subjected to this Parliament, though he had failed in the Execution of his Design, and lost himself by an immoderate Ambition, the King's Affairs would have received no Advantage, as the Parliament was not less an Enemy to him than *Cromwell*. What is it therefore that is complained of in regard to the King? It must either be that *Cromwell* was too able a Politician to suffer himself to be supplanted by all the Efforts of the *Royalists*; or, that after having grasped the Supreme Power, he did not restore it to the King, to whom only it belonged. The meaning of this is, that *Cromwell* did not at once turn *Royalist*, and entirely forsake his Principles. But this Accusation lies with equal Advantage against all the *Independents* and *Presbyterians*, that is, against three Parts in four of the Kingdom, since they, no more than *Cromwell*, thought it proper to declare for the King.

As for the *Republicans*, they have not left us many Witnesses. The only *Memoirs* of that Party, which I know of, are those of *Edmond Ludlow*.

low *. It appears from this Book, that the *Republicans* were enraged againſt *Cromwell*, and deemed him the moſt perfidious Man breathing. This is not ſtrange, ſince he had wreſted from their Parliament the Sovereign Power, ſeized by them without any lawful Authority. But, what was this Parliament, and what its Pretenſions? It was an Aſſembly of *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Fanaticks*, *Enthuſiaſts*, and Men of no Religion, who, under Colour of eſtabliſhing a free Common-wealth, held the Nation in the moſt grievous Servitude: Who, to confirm their own Authority, had treated their Fellow-Members with unheard of Violence, and dared to embrue their Hands in the Blood of the late King, at a Time when he had almoſt granted every Thing which his Subjects required of him: Who laſtly were induſtrious to break the Union of the Church, to over-turn all Religion, or introduce the moſt ridiculous and extravagant one. Was it therefore more eligible for *England* to be governed by theſe Men, than by ſo able a Man as *Cromwell*? If then *Cromwell* is blameable, it is not for having diſſolved a Parliament, which, aſſuredly, deſerved to continue no longer, and had made a moſt unnatural Uſe of the Power it had aſſumed. But if, after the Diſſolution of this Parliament, *Cromwell* had reſtored the King (for this, in all appearance is what the *Royaliſts* would have) he had drawn upon himſelf the Hatred and Curſes of all *England*, which at that Time was by no Means diſpoſed to reſtore the King, let the *Royaliſts* pretend what they pleaſe. He was therefore under a Neceſſity of doing one of theſe three Things; either to reſtore the King, contrary to his own Principles, and to thoſe of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; or to abandon the State, and give it up to a horrible Anarchy, which muſt neceſſarily have been its Fate, had he left Things in the ſtate they were in after the Diſſolution; or to take the Adminiſtration 1658.

* Hence 'tis plain *Rapin* never ſaw *Whitlock*.

1658. niſtration of the Government upon himſelf; unleſs he had charged ſome other Perſon with it, which in reſpect of the juſtice of the Action had been the ſame. Let it now be examined what was moſt Advantagious for *England* in the Circumſtances it was then under, and whether it was not better that he ſhould take upon himſelf the Government, than attempt a Reſtoration, which he could never have effected by the Army (and he had no other Means) ſo indevoted to the King, to ſay nothing of the Oppoſition he would have met with from both *Republicans* and *Presbyterians*. Suppoſing then that he was in the Right to diſſolve the Parliament, was it not better for him to aſſume the Government, than give up the State to a fatal Anarchy? Thoſe who pretend that he had long before laid the Deſign of his Elevation, ſpeak only by Conjecture. They reflect not that he had never ſeen himſelf in a Condition to form a Deſign of that Nature before the Battle of *Worceſter*; nor that the Parliament diſſolved by him had, in ſeeking to get rid of him, put him under a Neceſſity to deſtroy them for his own Preſervation.

But what is never to be juſtified in his Conduct is, his throwing himſelf from the beginning of the Parliament into a deſperate Faction, which aimed at the Ruin of *Church* and *State*; his putting himſelf afterwards at the Head of that Faction, directing their Motions, and having the greateſt Share in all the Violences put upon the Parliament and the King. This nevertheleſs is ſlightly touched, becauſe ſuch Behaviour is ſo common to all the *Independent* Faction; and yet it is, in my Opinion, the only juſt Charge which can be brought againſt him, and from which it is hardly poſſible to clear him.

The ſecond Charge againſt him is, his exceſſive Diſſimulation; but here we are to diſtinguiſh. If it is true, as is pretended, though without Proof, that he carried his Diſſimulation ſo far as to mock God and Religion, by the Pretence of a Piety and Devotion which he had not, and by long Prayers

full

full of hypocritical Zeal: If it is true that his Mouth uttered what his Heart never meant, no Man ought to endeavour to Vindicate him. But all the World knows his ſtrong Byaſs to *Enthuſiaſm*, and who can affirm that it was rather out of Hypocriſy than real Perſuaſion? Men are not ſlightly to be arraigned, for the inward Motions of the Heart, which paſs all Humane Knowledge. His Diſſimulation made uſe of to govern the ſeveral Parties, all equally Enemies to him, has nothing, that I can ſee, greatly blameable in it, unleſs it was a Crime in him not to put it in the Power of his Enemies to deſtroy him with the greateſt Eaſe. I ſhall lay before the Reader ſome of the Methods made uſe of by him, to maintain himſelf in his Dignity, which will help to diſcover with what Juſtice *Cromwell* is reproached on the Article of Diſſimulation. 1658.

The Parliament diſſolved by him was compoſed of *Independents*, *Republicans*, *Enthuſiaſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-Men*. If this Parliament had continued longer, Things would have been carried to the laſt Extremity. The pulling down of the Churches, the Clergy, and of every Thing which was capable to preſerve the Union of a National Church, was the common Topick of Diſcourſe amongſt theſe People. The *Presbyterians*, not ignorant of this, were in continual Apprehenſions of their executing their Deſigns. So that the Diſſolution of this Parliament was counted a happy and fortunate Thing for them. *Cromwell*, to gain their Confidence, promiſed the Support and Maintenance of their Miniſtry on the foot of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and kept his Word, though he was far enough from being *Presbyterian*. By this Means the *Presbyterians* were kept firm to his Intereſt, out of a dread of falling again under the Tyranny of the *Independents*. Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Times*.

The *Republican* Faction had two ſorts of Men, whom it was very difficult to govern. The one were *Deiſts*, or Men who were very indifferent as to Religion, and only wanted a perfect Liberty in the

1658. Civil-Government. The others were *Enthusiasts*, who expected every Day the coming of the Reign of *Jesus Christ* upon Earth. These were the most difficult to manage, as no Reason took Place with them if it thwarted their mad and impetuous Zeal. *Cromwell*'s accepting the *Protectorship* was considered by them as a Step towards the Throne, and they were such Enemies to the regal Authority, as to esteem Kings so many *Antichrists*, and Enemies of *Christ*'s Reign upon Earth. *Cromwell* found Means so artfully to divide them, that all Combinations betwixt them for the ruin of his Authority became impossible. To the *Deists* he made himself Merry with the extravagant Zeal of the *Fanaticks*, and to these he talked of the others as Men who were *Atheists* and *Infidels*. But as the *Enthusiasts* were the more obstinate and ungovernable, he hinted to some of them, that he would much rather have turned Shepherd, than taken upon him the Burthen of the *Protectorate*, had it not been to prevent every thing from running into Confusion: That he would resign this Dignity with more cheerfulness than he had accepted it, as soon as Things were brought to any Order and Settlement: But nothing went more against his Inclination, and Principles, than a Grandour which obliged him to assume an outward shew of Superiority over the Companions of his Labours and Services for the Publick. To convince them more fully of what he said, he frequently called them into his Closet, and, the Door shut, made them sit covered, and enter into a freedom and a familiarity with him, as if he had been conversing with his Equals. Commonly the Conversation ended with a long Prayer, which himself uttered before and with them. It is not to be doubted but Dissimulation had a great share in this Behaviour; the Question is, whether it was so Criminal as is pretended.

He had likewise Chaplains of all the *Sects* and *Factions*. And in giving Hints sometimes to one, sometimes to another, that he was, by no Means, irreconcileable

irreconcileable to their Principles; every Faction had hopes of a change favourable to its own Intereſts. 1658.

He had Spies induſtriouſly diſperſed amongſt all the Factions, and was fully informed from them of whatever was tranſacting againſt either his Perſon or Government. Amongſt others, he gained Sir *Richard Willis*, Chancellor *Hyde*'s Agent, for conveying the King's Orders to his Friends in *England*. All the *Royaliſts* had a Confidence in *Willis*, who they knew received his Orders from the King's firſt Miniſter, and yet he betrayed them. But to keep the Correſpondence more ſecret, *Willis* had an Aſſurance from *Cromwell*, that no Informations from him ſhould be otherwiſe made uſe of than to diſconcert the Meaſures of his Enemies, without bringing one of them to Puniſhment, or even to Impriſonment, unleſs for a ſhort Space, and on other Pretences. By that Means he defeated their Deſigns againſt him, as if accidentally, by committing them to Priſon for ſuppoſed Crimes, and releaſing them when he had no more to fear from their Conſpiracies. Burnet's *Hiſtory of his own Times*, p. 66.

He ſometimes gave Intimations of a willingneſs to treat with the King. Probably his Deſign was to engage the *Royaliſts* in an Offer of Propoſitions which would have given him an Opportunity to amuſe them, and prevented any Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon; for he had Information from ſeveral Parts, of Deſigns laid to aſſaſſinate him. He therefore affected, in Publick, to ſpeak of Aſſaſſinations with the utmoſt deteſtation, and to declare it was a Way which he would never begin; but if an Attempt was made againſt him, and miſcarried, he ſhould no longer ſcruple to put it in Practice, and that he was neither deſtitute of proper Perſons for the Undertaking, nor of Money to reward them. This Declaration kept the *Royaliſts* in awe, they being apprehenſive of having the Miſchief, intended againſt *Cromwell*, fall either upon their own Heads, or thoſe of the King and Royal Family. Ibid. p. 65.

If

1658. If this Conduct of *Cromwell* is considered impartially, it will, without doubt, appear that *Cromwell*'s Dissimulation and Artifices for his own Preservation, were not so Criminal as they have been represented. The extreme Passion with which they have been mentioned, is more owing to their Success in frustrating the Designs of his Enemies, than to any other Motive. The Dissimulation of Queen *Elizabeth* has been greatly magnified, though the inducement to it was no other than that to *Cromwell*'s, her own Preservation.

The third and last Charge which lies against *Cromwell* is, that of Cruelty, for having, whilst he was *Protector*, put some Men to Death, who had conspired against his Person and Government. The meaning of which is, that his Enemies would have had him sit with folded Arms, and with no Notice taken of Conspiracies against him; but that, as one had miscarried, Liberty should have been given for the tryal of a second and a third, till some one had succeeded. This deserves no Confutation. But to put it out of doubt, that *Cromwell* was not for an unnecessary Effusion of Blood, we need only recite what is owned by the Earl of *Clarendon* in his History, and received, he assures us, from good Hands. And it is this: When the Army-Officers, in a Council, had proposed a general Massacre of the *Royalists*, the Execution of so horrible a Design was both warmly opposed and prevented by *Cromwell*.

Clarend. Vol. VI. p. 653.

To finish *Cromwell*'s Character, I will add, that in the beginning of the *Long-Parliament*, he was *Presbyterian*: After that he threw himself into the *Independent* Faction, so as to become one of their Leaders, and to affect the Reputation of being an *Enthusiast*. But after he was made *Protector*, he was neither *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, *Republican* or *Enthusiast*. As he had all these different Factions to manage, all equally Enemies to him, he was under a Necessity to behave with Indifference and Impartiality

ty to each in particular, and this Management furniſhes convincing Proofs of his great Ability. 1658.

It is nevertheleſs certain that *Cromwell* was greatly hated, while he lived, by all the Parties then in *England*, though they could not help both fearing and eſteeming him. But if it is conſidered that the Prejudices againſt him are not now near ſo ſtrong as they were then, it will be found that Intereſt was at the Bottom of the hatred which his Enemies had of him, and which aroſe principally from his Ability to diſconcert the Meaſures and Deſigns of all the Factions. The general Hatred is pointed ſingly at his principal Action; that is to ſay, the Uſurpation of the Government, which equally diſguſted *Royaliſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Republicans*. The *Royaliſts* ſaw their Hopes more deſperate than ever of the King's Reſtoration. The *Presbyterians* had no longer any hopes of ſeeing themſelves once more ſuperiour, by their Intrigues in Parliament, after the Diſſolution. The *Republicans* were enraged to ſee the Supreme Power, which they had graſped, wreſted from them. It is therefore not at all ſurprizing, that he has fallen under ſo much Cenſure. As all the People of *England*, or, which is the ſame, the three Factions, had an equal Intereſt to aſperſe and defame him; it was not the Enormity of the Action which gave the Offence, but the Diſappointment which each Faction met with in their hopes by his Elevation. This has drawn from a number of Writers Expreſſions ſo injurious to his Memory. Obſerve how Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of him, and his Uſurpation. *Without doubt no Man with more Wickedneſs ever attempted any thing, or brought to paſs what he deſired more wickedly, more in the Face and Contempt of Religion, and moral Honeſty. Yet Wickedneſs, great as his, could never have accompliſhed thoſe Deſigns, without the aſſiſtance of a great Spirit, an admirable Circumſpection and Sagacity, and a moſt magnanimous Reſolution.* It is eaſily ſeen that this Wickedneſs is referred purely to his Uſurpation of the Government. *In a Word*, (continues Clarend. VI. p. 649.

the

1658. the same Author) *as he was guilty of many Crimes, against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-Fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man.* Here the Author, no doubt, has an Eye to the Murder of *Charles* I. in which *Cromwell* had too deep a share, and is not to be justified by me. I shall only observe, that this Accusation is not peculiar to him, but in common with the whole *Independent*-Parliament.

To form a just and reasonable *Idea* of *Cromwell*'s Character, his Conduct and Actions are to be examined, and compared with the Conjuncture of the Times, independently of the Opinion of his Enemies. We have no other Writers who have transmitted to us the History of that Period besides the *Royalists*, who have laid down certain Principles, by which he is condemned. But, it is to be observed, these Principles were not generally received, in *England*, during his Life. What can never be excused in him, is the Death of *Charles* I, which he promoted with his whole Power and Interest, and will remain an indelible Blot upon his Memory. Another Principle, and of which he made great use, is likewise to be
Ibid. condemned in him: And this was, that *moral* Laws obliged Men only in their ordinary Conduct, and might be dispensed with on great and extraordinary Occasions, which is absolutely false. His Usurpation of the Government has already been considered, and the Reader is left to his Judgement. I shall only observe, that the Confusion which prevailed in *England*, soon after the death of *Cromwell*, clearly evidenced the necessity of this Usurpation.

In general it is not to be denied, that *Cromwell* was one of the greatest Men of his Age, who could thus, without any distinction from Birth or Fortune, rise so near a Throne, that it was in his own Power to have mounted it. History furnishes very few Instances of this kind.

Cromwell's Death was followed with ſo many alterations in the Government, that the Time, betwixt that and the Reſtoration, may be juſtly called a Period of true Anarchy. *Cromwell* ſhould have had a Succeſſor like himſelf, to finiſh what he had ſo ably begun. But two ſo great Men are not commonly found ſo near together, nor often in the ſame Age. 1658.

Richard Cromwell ſucceeds his Father, Baker, p. 635.

In the laſt Days of his Illneſs *Cromwell* was twice asked, by his Friends, in neareſt Confidence with him, what was his Will with relation to his Succeſſor; to which, without heſitation, he as often anſwered, that it was his Deſire to be ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Richard*. He had nevertheleſs, in the time of his Protectorſhip, ſigned an Inſtrument by which he appointed *Fleetwood* his Son-in-Law to ſucceed him; but in all probability this Inſtrument was burnt by him, for it could never be found. An Hour after his death, the Privy-Council met, and upon the Report made of the Will of the deceaſed, as alſo upon the Inſtrument of Government, impowering them to chuſe a *Protector*, they elected *Richard Cromwell* without any oppoſition. *Fleetwood* himſelf gave up before them, all Right which he might pretend to from the Inſtrument made in his Favour, in caſe it ſhould be found. Immediately after, the Lord-Mayor of *London* was acquainted with the Election, and the Day following *Richard* was procliamed *Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The ſame Proclamation was made in all the principal Towns of the three Nations without the leaſt oppoſition. On the contrary Addreſſes poured in to *Richard* from all Parts, ſigned by many Thouſands of Hands, all congratulating his Acceſſion to the Dignity of *Protector*, with Aſſurances of Lives and Fortunes cheerfully devoted to maintain and ſupport his Title. But ſuch Addreſſes are not always to be depended upon, Experience having often ſhewn that they are far from being ſincere, though delivered in the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſſive Terms. Thus *Richard* was inſtalled Succeſſor to his Father *Oliver*, and took the

Receives Addreſſes from all Parts. Clarend. VI. p. 656. Cook, Ch. III. p. 71.

1658. *Endeavours to gain the Friendship of* Monk.

the same Oath. The first Care of the new *Protector*, after his Installation, was to engage *Monk*, Governour of *Scotland*, in his Interests. After the voluntary Submission of *Fleetwood* his Brother-in-Law, of *Desborrow* his Unkle, and all the Officers of the Army, as well *Republicans* as *Presbyterians*, he seemed to have nothing to apprehend or fear from *England*. *Henry Cromwell* his Brother, then Governour of *Ireland*, held that Island in a peaceable subjection. *Scotland* therefore only remained to be secured to his Interests. *Monk* had always continued in Command in this Kingdom, from the time that he finished the reduction of it. He so well managed the *Scots* sometimes by Rigour, and sometimes by the mildest Treatment, but chiefly by the exact Discipline of his Army, that he acquired an universal Esteem and Affection amongst them, who were never more happy than under his Government, though the Earl of *Clarendon* insinuates that it was all a Tyranny, which seems to have no other Foundation, but that of his having put it out of the Power of the *Scots* to withdraw their Obedience from the Parliament or the *Protector*, by Forts erected in convenient Places. However that be, it is certain that *Monk* was Master of *Scotland*, and that *Cromwell* himself would have found it no easie Attempt to have wrested that Government out of his Hands. Many blamed the Confidence which *Cromwell* reposed in *Monk*, as he had born Arms for the late King, and only engaged on the side of the Parliament, to free himself from the Confinement he had been under since the Battle of *Nantwich*, where he was made Prisoner. It was, perhaps, for these suspicions that *Richard* thought himself obliged to leave nothing unattempted which might secure him to his Interests. For this Purpose, knowing the Esteem and Affection which *Monk* had for *Clarges* his Brother-in-Law, he dispatched him to him to desire his Friendship. But this *Clarges*, as well as *Monk*, had been zealously attached to the King, and still continued so in his Heart, though his out-

Burnet's *History of his own Times* Clarendon *in several Places of his History.*

Baker, p. 636.

Sends Clarges *to him.*

outward Behaviour was ſuited to the Times. Wherefore, in the diſcharge of this Commiſſion, he took an opportunity to try his Inclinations to the King, and eaſily found he was by no Means his Enemy. From this time *Monk* and *Clarges* held a ſtrict Correſpondence. *Clarges* informed *Monk* of the Tranſactions at *London*, and in all appearance had the King's Intereſts then in view, though he thought it not yet proper to explain himſelf to *Monk*, who was a Man very reſerved. *Clarges*, agreeably to his Inſtructions, acquainted *Monk* with the Eſteem which the new *Protector* had for him, in which he complied with the Sentiments of *Oliver* his Father, who had expreſsly charged him to be directed in all Things by him. *Monk* made no difficulty to ſubmit to *Richard*'s Government. He obligingly acknowledged the Honour he had done him, and in general told him, that having no particular Advice to give him, by reaſon of his diſtance, he only recommended to him the Incouraging a learned, pious, and moderate Miniſtry in the Church, the Preventing the meeting of Officers in Council, a liberty which they had too often abuſed, and the making himſelf Maſter of the Army. 1658.

Monk ſubmits to Richard.

The Protector *Richard* had, as I ſaid before, the Pleaſure of receiving Addreſſes from Buroughs, Cities and Counties, to the number of fourſcore and ten, and afterwards he had the like Compliments paid him from all the Regiments, not one excepted. So that he had reaſon to believe his Power to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. In this Interval, Preparations were making for *Oliver*'s Funeral, which was ſolemnized with great Magnificence, large Sums of Money being borrowed for that Occaſion by the new *Protector*. After the Ceremonies uſually paid to deceaſed Sovereign Princes, his Body was depoſited in *Henry* VII's Chapel, amongſt thoſe of the Kings and Queens of *England*.

Other Addreſſes to Richard *from the Army*, Baker, p. 636. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 71. Oliver's *Funeral*. Baker, Cook, Clarend.

Although the late *Protector* was both careful and capable to preſerve himſelf amidſt the Factions then reigning

The different Factions conceive hopes from Richard's *Advancement*.

1685. reigning in *England*, and to keep them in ſubjection, it was not however in his Power to extinguiſh them. After he was taken out of the World, every Faction conceived Hopes of gaining a Superiority under the Protectorate of *Richard*, who had by no means the Capacity of his Father, and to theſe Hopes probably was owing their ready Concurrence in declaring him *Protector*. The *Royaliſts* with Reaſon flattered themſelves that the different Factions of their Enemies, having no longer a common Head capable to hold them in ſubjection, would diſunite, and ſo bring ſome Advantage to the King's Affairs. And, it might be, aſſiſt towards his Reſtoration. Thoſe who had approved of the Government lodged in the ſingle Perſon of the deceaſed *Protector*, and were the Perſons in whom he repoſed the greateſt Confidence, hoped to preſerve the ſame Credit under the Son, which they had enjoyed under the Father, and to be able to influence and direct him according to their own Humours. Theſe were the principal Members of the Council, though they had amongſt them a mixture of *Republicans* and *Fanaticks*.

The Royaliſts.

The Republicans. If the *Republicans* conſented to acknowledge *Richard*, it was becauſe they were unprepared to make any Oppoſition. The Army, chiefly compoſed of this Faction, being diſperſed in ſeveral Counties, the Officers had neither Time nor Opportunity to meet and conſult together. But they diſpaired not of finding an Occaſion to diſplace the new *Protector*, and to reſtore the Common-wealth upon the Foot it ſtood before the Year 1653, when *Oliver* diſſolved the Parliament which had formed it.

The Anabaptiſts. The *Anabaptiſts* were to a Man in the *Republican* Faction, becauſe they well knew the Impoſſibility of raiſing their *Fifth-Monarchy* under a *Protector*. Theſe were the moſt zealous and fervent *Republicans*, and the moſt difficult to be managed, on account of their ſingular Notions, which brought all Things to the Teſt of their extravagant Religion, and rendered them

them deaf to any thing which could be ſuggeſted, if it claſhed in the leaſt with their Principles. 1658.

The Republican Deiſts.

There was another Set of *Republicans* who, without any regard to Religion, were governed by Views meerly Political. They were accuſed of having no Religion, or properly ſpeaking of being *Deiſts*.

The Presbyterians.

As to the *Presbyterians*, who were in great Numbers diſperſed over *England* and *Ireland*, beſides the *Scots*, who were almoſt all of this *Sect*, they had retained ſtill the ſame Principles, without any variation, from the Time that they had been forced from the Parliament in 1648. They were not diſinclined to receive the King with a limited Power, and the eſtabliſhed *Presbyterian*-Government ſecured to the Church from all Attempts. This Principle had always kept them ſeparate from the other Factions, and allowed them to unite neither with the *Royaliſts*, who would endure neither any Limitation upon the King's Power, nor their Church-Government; or with the *Republicans*, who would neither ſuffer a King nor a *Protector*. Beſides, theſe laſt granted an entire Liberty to all Sects which had joined with the *Independent* Party, a Liberty which was inconſiſtent with the Principles of the *Presbyterians*. For, though the *Presbyterians* had under the Reigns of *Elizabeth*, *James* I. *Charles* I. greatly complained of the denial of an entire Freedom for the publick Profeſſion of their Religion, yet they were by no Means inclined to grant the ſame Liberty which themſelves had demanded. Nevertheleſs as their Number was conſiderable, and a Leader might one Day be found capable to conduct and manage their Affairs, the deceaſed Protector found it proper for his Intereſts to keep in good Terms with them, and preſerve their Government in the Church as it was eſtabliſhed; but without compulſion upon any Perſon to conform to it. This Moderation kept the *Presbyterians* quiet under the Government of *Oliver Cromwell*, and the more ſo, as they could expect no aſſiſtance from the Army as it was then modelled. But their Separation

1658. from all the other Factions rendered their Oppoſition to the *Independent* Party weak and inſignificant, which with great Care held them in ſubjection. This gave the *Royaliſts* room to hope that the *Presbyterians* in the end would find themſelves obliged to unite with them, for delivering themſelves from the Servitude in which the *Independents* and *Republicans* had ſo long held them. And the Sequel will prove, that this Hope was not without a reaſonable Foundation.

Richard's Deſigns to become Maſter of the Council and the Army. Baker, p. 637.

This ſhort Recapitulation of the Intereſts of the different Factions, plainly ſhows the Capacity of *Cromwell*, who could thus keep them all in Awe, without any poſitive Declaration in favour of any one Party, *Richard* propoſed to begin his Protectorate with his Father's Maxims. He formed the Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of the Deliberations of his Council, and of reducing the Army to a ſubmiſſion to his Meaſures. By theſe two Things *Oliver* maintained his Authority, and if his Life had continued longer, the Army would not have had one Officer in it of ſuſpected Fidelity to him. But to purſue theſe Maxims, and to execute well ſo great a Deſign, *Richard* ought to have been furniſhed with his Father's Capacity for Civil and Military Affairs. He ſhould have had his Bravery and Reſolution; and, in a Word, by a Series of Victories been capable to ſtrike Terrour into all who were in a Condition to oppoſe his Deſigns. But *Richard* had none of thoſe great Talents proper to procure him either Eſteem or Fear, or to fill his Friends with any Confidence of a powerful Protection from him. Wherefore, being at the Head of no Faction, and incapable to govern all, he ſtood expoſed to their Ambition and Violence, without being ſure of any effectual Aſſiſtance when he ſhould want it. Nevertheleſs, well knowing that the bare Election of his Perſon by the Council, and the Addreſſes made to him, were inſufficient to a full Eſtabliſhment of his Authority, he believed it expedient to have his Dignity confirmed

Calls a Parliament of two Houſes. Clarend. VI. p. 529. Baker, p. 637.

confirmed by Parliament, and accordingly ſummoned one to meet the 27th Day of *January* 1658-9. This Parliament was to conſiſt of two Houſes, That of the Commons with four Hundred *Engliſh*, thirty *Scotch*, and thirty *Iriſh* Members, and the *other Houſe* (for as yet it had no other Name) which was inſtead of the Houſe of Peers, and conſiſted chiefly of Army-Officers. They were generally Men of no Birth, and who had roſe by military Employs in the laſt War. 1658-9.

Richard had made no alteration in his Father's Council; but he was ſoon ſenſible that this Council, which was entirely under the direction of *Oliver*, was aſpiring to more Power under his Succeſſor. On the other Hand the Army appeared leſs devoted and reſpectful to the Son than the Father. They had even ſtaggered in their ſubmiſſion before *Oliver*'s Death, which had obliged him to remove *Lambert* and ſome other Colonels and Officers who were ſowing Diviſion amongſt the Troops. His Deſign was to make other changes, by degrees, in the Army, in order to reduce them to an entire Obedience, but he was prevented by Death. He wanted no Aſſiſtance, no Advice from any Perſon to ſtrike ſuch and the like bold Strokes, and commonly his Deſigns were executed before the Publick had the leaſt Intimation of them; and ſo well eſtabliſhed was his Authority, that no Officer whatſoever retained any longer a Credit amongſt the Troops, when he was once caſhiered. *Lambert* and ſome others were late Inſtances of this. *Richard* was deſirous to tread in his Father's Steps; but being ſenſible that his Authority was not great enough, he thought nothing ought to be undertaken without a Conſultation firſt had with ſuch as he eſteemed his principal Friends. He therefore held a Privy-Council, in which he propoſed *firſt* the admiſſion of more new Counſellors, to give him a Majority in the Debates by his own Creatures introduced in oppoſition to the old Counſellors, who were leſs tractable than they had been in the Time of his Father.

Richard *propoſes an addition of new Members to his Council.* Baker, Ib.

Meets with great Difficulties. Baker.

1658-9. *Secondly*, He proposed to bring the Army to a Dependence upon him by proper and suitable Means.

His Friends whom he consulted on this Occasion were Self-interested, and attached to him only in hopes of governing all in his Name. They apprehended the *Protector*'s Proposal might be prejudicial to themselves, and thought that an absolute Power gained to him, might make them the first Sufferers. He therefore found a strong Opposition from these pretended Friends. Instead of approving his Design, they advised him to call into his Council two Colonels, who were entirely in the Interest of the *Republican* Faction. Nor was this all; some of the leading Officers of the Army were informed of the *Protector*'s Designs, and this was sufficient to make them look about them. *Fleetwood* his Brother-in-Law, and *Desborrow* his Unkle, were the most forward to combine against him, and caballed with the Officers to deprive him of the Generalship of the Army, which they were empowered to do by the *Instrument of Government*. But in all likelihood they would never have thought of using this Power, if *Richard* had not discovered his Intentions of being absolute Master of the Army, and putting himself in a Condition not to want their Assistance. Nevertheless, as the Army lay dispersed, and a Consultation of the Officers was necessary, to bring them to act in concert for the Preservation of their Authority, and the opposing the *Protector*'s Designs, a Snare was laid for him, in which he suffered himself to be taken. It was insinuated that the Parliament which was going to sit might prove dangerous to his Authority, should they be less tractable than he desired; and therefore it was necessary for him to fortifie himself with a good Number of Officers, as well to consult them on any Emergency, as to let the Parliament see that he was supported by the Army, which could not but produce a good Effect. *Richard* perswading himself that this Advice proceeded from the Zeal which the Givers of it had for his Service, too easily

The Principal Officers of the Army combine against him. Baker, p. 627.

Advise him to call a great Number of Officers to London. Ibid. Ibid.

easily suffered himself to be brought to issue out his Orders to every Regiment for the sending up to *London* such Officers as could be spared. This Order was punctually executed, and immediately a great Number of Officers appeared in *London*, who formed amongst them a Council which frequently met, and assumed the Title of the *Great Council of the Army*. 1658-9. *These Officers formed a great Council.*

Besides this Great Council, some Members of the Privy-Council, and Officers of the Army met at *Desborrow*'s House, as well to consult how to deprive *Richard* of the Generalship, as to direct the Great Council, which being composed of Numbers of inferiour Officers, had need of being directed in their Deliberations. The Result of this Council was, that *Desborrow* attended with many Officers waited on the *Protector* with a Petition "That no Officer "or Soldier should be turned out but by Sentence of "a Council of War. That no Member of the "Army should be proceeded against capitally, o-"therwise than by the Martial Law: And lastly, "That the Army might have Power to chuse their "own General." As nothing was more contrary to the Designs of *Richard* than this Demand, he peremptorily rejected it, and threatened even to cashier them if they persisted to make him any more such Proposals. *Offer a Petition to the* Protector, Ibid. Ibid. Cook, Ch. III. p. 72. *He rejects it.*

The Parliament being met the 27th of *January*, it was immediately debated in the *Lower-House*, by what Right the *Scots* and *Irish* sent Representatives to the *English* Parliament. The Authority of the *other House* was likewise taken into Consideration, and Objections made against it, which had been started in *Oliver*'s last Parliament. As there were a good many *Republicans* in the *House of Commons*, great endeavours were used to suppress this *other House*, for fear of its rising at last into a *House of Lords*, and opposing the Re-establishment of the Common-wealth, which was the Object of their most ardent Wishes. The Debates upon these two Articles held two entire *The Parliament meets* 27th *of* January. Clarend. VI. Baker, Cook, Ch. III. p. 72. *Debates about the* Scotch *and* Irish *Members and the* other House. *Decision.*

1658-9. tire Months, and it was not before the 28th of *March* that a plurality of Voices carried it for the Continuation of the *other House*, and the Priviledge of sitting in the *House of Commons* to the *Scotch* and *Irish* Representatives. After that, the Parliament made an Act to recognize *Richard Cromwell* for *Protector* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

An Act to recognize Richard.

Petition of the Officers in favour of Fleetwood.

1659. 6th *of April*, Baker, p. 637.

While these Things were transacting in Parliament, the Great Council of Officers held at *Fleetwood*'s House, and the private Council which met at *Desborrow*'s continued their Conferences. At last they presented a *Petition* to the *Protector*, whereby they demanded *Fleetwood* for their General. This was a direct Intention to deprive the *Protector* of the Command of the Army, to which he could not consent, without exposing himself to the Caprices of the principal Officers, who directed and influenced the Army just as they pleased. Wherefore, instead of returning a favourable Answer to their Petition, he spoke to them in an angry Tone, ordered them to dissolve their Council, and return to their respective Quarters. On the other Hand the *House of Commons* not ignorant that the Officers were upon some Design which might be prejudicial to the Parliament, voted against the holding any Council of Officers during the Session of the Parliament; and that no Person should have any Employ in the Army, till he had taken an Oath not to disturb the Deliberations of the Parliament. Immediately after, these Votes were sent to the *other House*, now called the *Upper-House*, for their Concurrence. But as the Officers were most prevalent there, they believed it was no part of their Duty to contradict what their Comrads without Doors had resolved upon. So that the Votes of the *Commons* were no more able, than the Orders of the *Protector*, to dissipate the Councils of the Officers who still continued to meet.

Rejected by the Protector. Clarend. VI. p 533.

Vote of the Commons against the Officers. Baker, Cook, Ch. 3. p 72.

The Officers force the Protector *to dissolve the Parliament.* Clarend. VI. p. 235. Baker, p. 641. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 73.

At last, on the 22d of *April Richard* had Notice that the Officers were come to a Resolution of forcing him to dissolve the Parliament. He immediately assembled

assembled his Council to prevent, by their Advice, this Attempt. Some were of Opinion that he ought to give a peremptory denial to any such Demand, and keep close to his Parliament, as the only Support which he had left. But no Body put him in the Way to defend himself against the Officers, who began to meet together in the Neighbourhood of *Whitehall*, and would probably have been too strong for any Opposition from his Guards. Others advised him to leave *Whitehall*, and suffer the Officers to do as they pleased with the Parliament, without interesting himself at all in the Dispute; but the Officers, who had foreseen that he might probably take this Method were before-hand with him, and had seized all the Avenues about *Whitehall*, and made his Escape impracticable. In short, every Man proposed Expedients, to which others objected insuperable Difficulties. While the Court was thus fluctuating, *Desborrow*, with a strong Retinue, demanded an Audience of the *Protector*, and required him, in the Name of the Officers, to dissolve the Parliament. *Richard* at first refused to grant this Demand; but he was given to understand that his Refusal would be attended with danger to himself, and that, in fine, they were resolved to obtain, by fair Means or foul, what they demanded. In short, *Richard*, who, before *Desborrow* came, was incapable of taking any Resolution, was now less able to consider of what was to be done, when he was surrounded with Men who shewed but little regard for his Authority. He therefore promised to dissolve the Parliament by Commission under the Great-Seal. But as the Commons, having been informed of what was doing, had adjourned themselves for three Days, a Proclamation was issued out to declare the Parliament dissolved. 1659. Clarend. Baker, Cook.

From this time *Richard* was no longer regarded, though he still bore the Title of *Protector*. The Officers looked on him as an impotent disarmed Enemy, incapable to do them any Hurt; so that he lost on a sudden the Support of the Parliament, without *Richard loses all his Credit.*

1659. out gaining that of the Army. This is what cannot be denied. But those who imagine, that if he had stood by the Parliament, he would have ingaged the People in his Interests, and been supported by *Monk* and his Army, go upon a very uncertain Supposition. Besides, had he any Power to refuse a Dissolution of the Parliament, without hazarding his own Life? And could he have supported himself against the Violences of the Army, till a sufficient Aid had come to his Relief? Be this as it will, after the Parliament was dissolved, the great Council of Officers thought themselves impowered to settle the Government on their own Model, without taking any Notice of the *Protector*, who was now regarded only as a private Person *. This *Anarchy* continued only the few Days, that were necessary for the Officers to confirm their Election of *Fleetwood* for their General. They dicharged by their own Authority five Colonels, who had advised *Richard* to stand by the Parliament; namely, *Ingoldsby*, *Goff*, *Whaley*, Lord *Falconbridge* Brother-in-Law to *Richard*, and *Howard* afterwards Earl of *Carlile*, and at the same Time restored *Lambert* and others discharged by *Cromwell* a little before his Death. After this they deliberated upon a Form of Government, it being impossible for Things to continue long in their present state.

The Officers seize the Government. Baker.

Chuse Fleetwood for their General, and discharge several Colonels. Clarend. Baker, Cook.

Lambert's Designs.

Lambert was a Man of immoderate Ambition, and would not have scrupled to have trod in the Steps of *Oliver*, had the Conjuncture seemed favourable to his Wishes. But *Fleetwood* being his General, and the Idol of the Army, he could hope for no Success from an Attempt to put himself at the Head of the Government.

* *Ludlow* says, one great Offence given by *Richard* to the Nation was, by his Irreligion. For an Officer having murmured at the Advancement of Persons, who had been *Cavaliers*, to Commissions in the Army, was brought to *Whitehall* to answer for it. *Richard*, in a deriding Manner, asked him "Whether he would "have him prefer none but those that were Godly? Here, *con-* "*tinued he*, is *Dick Ingoldsby* who can neither Pray nor Preach, "and yet I will trust him before you all. *Lud. Mem.* Vol. II. p. 611.

vernment. He therefore thought it beſt to wait for a more favourable Opportunity, and in the mean time keep *Fleetwood* at a diſtance from the Supreme Power, whether under the Name of *Protector*, or any other Title, which he had ſeveral Reaſons to believe he was aiming at. Firſt, *Cromwell* had once named him for his Succeſſor by an Inſtrument under his own Hand, and many believed this Inſtrument had been artfully conveyed out of the way, either during *Cromwell*'s Life, or ſhortly after his Death, that it might give no hindrance to the Election of *Richard*. It was even ſaid, that *Cromwell*'s Nomination of his Son in the Time of his Illneſs, was only the Contrivance of Secretary *Thurlo*, and another Perſon, to make the Succeſſion fall upon *Richard*. Secondly, *Fleetwood* was one of the moſt zealous *Enthuſiaſts*, of whom the Officers of the Army were compoſed, and was therefore looked upon with Veneration by the Soldiers, and judged more worthy to be *Cromwell*'s Succeſſor. Thirdly, it was almoſt out of doubt that the Intereſt of the Army lay in the choice of a *Protector* who ſhould equally depend on, and ſupport their Credit and Authority. This was *Lambert*'s Thought. But as it was not for his Intereſt to have *Fleetwood* raiſed to a Dignity to which himſelf aſpired, when the Times ſhould favour him, he under-hand ſecured and engaged Colonel *Lilburn* to break *Fleetwood*'s Meaſures, if they pointed to the Protectorſhip, by his Intrigues amongſt the inferiour Officers, whilſt himſelf by his Court to him, and his Adulations, endeavoured to make himſelf Maſter of his Affections, as *Cromwell* had before done by *Fairfax*. This Example made *Lambert* hope to ſee himſelf one Day at the Head of the Government, by the ſame Practices which had raiſed *Cromwell*. 1659.

Lambert carrying on his Deſigns with the greateſt Secrecy, *Fleetwood*, as General, called his Officers together to *Wallingford*-Houſe to ſettle the Government. The ſuperiour Officers came, but at the ſame

1659. Time the inferiour ones, by the Intrigues of *Lambert* and *Lilburn* met at St. *James*'s in far greater Numbers. In this Assembly the regulation of the Government was likewise the Subject of their Debates, on which occasion some of the most leading Men, and the best Speakers, enlarged much upon the Happiness which *England* enjoyed under the Administration of the Parliament from the 6th of *December* 1648, to the 20th of *April* 1653, when it was dissolved by *Cromwell*. Their Prudence, Courage, and happy Success in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and in the *Dutch* War were magnified; and these Men gave it as their Opinion, that nothing could be more advantagious to the Nation, than the Re-establishment of this Parliament *.

Baker, p. 642.

The Officers come to a Resolution of restoring the Parliament dissolved by Cromwell in 1653.

This Deliberation was then pursued no farther; but it served to let the Assembly at *Wallingford-House* see the Danger to both Sides of a Rupture amongst the Officers, and convinced them of the Necessity of joining with the inferiour Officers in restoring the *Long-Parliament*. It is not well known what were the Views of the chief Officers with regard to the Government; but it is certain, that the Proposal of the inferiour Officers was contrary neither to the Principles nor the Sentiments of the Army in general. This will not be difficult to comprehend, when it is considered that the Officers and Soldiers, for the most part, were *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, *Enthusiasts*, *Republicans*, such in a manner as were the Members of

Baker, p. 643.

* *Whitlock* says, upon the Dissolution of the Parliament, all Matters were at a stand; the Army had thoughts of raising Money without a Parliament; but upon Advice, they durst not adventure upon it, but thought it a safer Way to restore the Members of the *Long-Parliament*. The Great Officers of the Army were advised to consider better of their Design of bringing in the Members of the *Old Parliament*, who were most of them discontented for their being formerly broken up by *Cromwell*, and did distaste the Proceedings of the Army; and whether this would not probably more increase the Divisions, and end in bringing in the King; but the Officers had resolved on it. *Whit. Mem.* p. 678.

of the Parliament diſſolved in 1653, and now propoſed to be reſtored. However this be, all the Officers in concert declared for the *Good Old Cauſe*, by which they meant, *That* ſupported by the Parliament, which brought the King to the Scaffold, and turned the Monarchy into a Common-wealth. It was therefore reſolved in a *General Council* held at *Fleetwood*'s Houſe to reſtore the *Long-Parliament*. 1659.

They have a mind to take ſome Precautions for their Security.

But as this Parliament had no Reaſon to be pleaſed with the Army, which, in 1653, ſided with *Cromwell* againſt them, the Great Officers were afraid, that when the Members were reſtored to their Authority, they would think of being revenged. Beſides, they well knew the Reſolution and Firmneſs of theſe Members, who would infallibly keep the Army in a ſtate of Subjection. The Officers therefore judged it abſolutely neceſſary, before they proceeded farther, to demand certain Conditions, and to ſecure before-hand the compliance of the Parliament, when they ſhould reſume their antient Authority. For this Purpoſe they had ſome previous Conferences with ſome of the Members, who had, as it were, influenced and directed the whole Houſe; and theſe were *Vane*, *Haſlerig*, *Scot*, *Solway*, who were to engage and promiſe a Conceſſion of the Conditions propoſed by the Officers. But theſe Members would come into no Engagements of this Nature, it not belonging to them, they pretended, to preclude the Reſolutions of the Parliament. This refuſal rendred them ſuſpected to the ſuperiour Officers; but the others, far more in Number, were not at all uneaſie at it, and contented themſelves with a verbal Promiſe from theſe four Members, of their uſing their Endeavours for the obtaining a Grant of theſe Conditions.

But meet with Difficulties.

The Parliament diſſolved in 1653, is reſtored, May 8.

Things being thus ſettled, *Lambert* at the Head of a conſiderable Number of Officers, repaired to the Houſe of *Lenthal*, Speaker to the *Long-Parliament*, and laid before him the Declaration of the Great Council of the Officers, by which the Members of

the

1659. the Parliament, dissolved by *Cromwell* *April* the 20th 1653, were invited to return to the Exercise of their Authority. *Lenthal* answered, that he would communicate the Declaration to the Members then in *London*, which was done the next Day, and, the Invitation being accepted, they met in Parliament the 8th of *May*, to the Number of only Forty-two *. Thus the three Nations saw themselves once more under the Tyrannical Dominion of a Parliament, which had not feared to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Sovereign: But with this difference, that the Number was reduced to the half of what it was in 1648, when the *Presbyterian* Members were excluded. Hence they were called in Derision the *Rump*-Parliament, in allusion to a Fowl all eaten but the Rump. The *Presbyterian* Members, who had been drove from the House, were willing to resume their Seats; but none were admitted besides those who had sat from the first of *January* 1648, to the 20th of *April* 1653, and in this the pretended Parliament was supported by the Officers, whose Interest it was not to suffer the *Presbyterians* to prevail in the House.

Cook, Ch. 3. p. 74.

Called in Derision the Rump, *and why.*

The Presbyterian *Members not suffered to take their Seats in the House.*

Clarend. Baker.

After the Parliament was restored to their Authority, the first Step taken by them was, to dispatch *Clarges* to *Monk*, to engage his Submission to the New Government. The Parliament well knew that *Monk* was not of their Principles, and would more willingly have sent him a Successor, than a Deputation of this Nature, had there been no danger in such a Procedure, which there certainly would have been, as *Monk* had established his Power so firmly in this Country, by making himself Master of all the fortified Places, and gaining the Affection of both the

The Parliament send Clarges *to* Monk.

* They went in a Body to the House, *Lambert* guarding them with Soldiers. Then they passed a Declaration touching their Meeting, and *their Purpose to secure the Property and Liberty of the People, both as Men and as Christians, and that without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers, and to uphold Magistracy and Ministry.* Whit. p. 679.

the *Scots* and his own Army. It was therefore judged safeſt by the Parliament to gain him by fair Means, and undermine by degrees his Credit and Authority in the Army. *Monk* was ſo little apprehenſive of the Change which happened in *England*, that he had no Time to conſult what Meaſures were propereſt for him to take. When he would have ſounded his Officers, he found they were pre-ingaged by Letters from their Friends in *London*. So that no other Choice was left for him, but that of Compliance, and a ſeeming Satisfaction in ſeeing the Parliament reſtored, though he was well convinced that he had no Friends amongſt the Leaders, either of the Parliament, or of the Army. 1659.

Monk ſubmits to the Authority of the Parliament. Clarend. VI. Baker, p. 644.

Four Days after the Parliament met, *Lambert* attended by ſeveral Officers preſented a Petition or Addreſs from the General-Council of the Officers, in which, after ſome Compliments, they demanded,

The Officers preſent a Petition to the Parliament. May 12. Baker, p. 644.

" 1. That the Liberty of the Perſons, and Pro-
" perty of the Eſtates of all free People of theſe
" Nations, be maintained, preſerved, and kept in-
" violable according to Law, under the Government
" of a *free State and Common-wealth*, without a *ſin-*
" *gle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers.*

" 2. That there be ſuch a juſt and due Regulation
" of Law, and Courts of Juſtice and Equity, as
" that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious
" or oppreſſive to the People of theſe Nations.

" 3. That by an *Act of Oblivion*, all and every
" Perſon or Perſons who have ſince the 19th of *A-*
" *pril* 1653, mediately or immediately adviſed, act-
" ed, or done any Matter or Thing whatſoever, in
" reference to the ſeveral Changes or Alterations in
" the Government of theſe Nations, ſince the ſaid
" 19th of *April* 1653, or in order to the Publick
" Service, Peace, or Safety of theſe Nations, be in-
" demnified and ſaved harmleſs, to all Intents and
" Purpoſes whatſoever.

" 4. That

1659. " 4. That all *Laws*, *Ordinances*, *Declarations*, and " *Eſtabliſhments* made in the ſeveral *Changes* and *Al-* " *terations* of *Government* that have been in theſe " Nations, ſince the 19th of *April*, aforeſaid, and " not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good " in Law, until particularly repealed.

" 5. That ſuch Debts as have been contracted " for the Publick Service and Affairs of this Com- " mon-wealth, and for the Charges of the Govern- " ment, ſince the 20th of *April* 1653, be carefully " paid and ſatisfied.

" 6. That all Perſons who profeſs Faith in God " the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his Eternal Son " the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-e- " qual with the Father and the Son, one God bleſſed " for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures " of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, to be the revealed " or written Word or Will of God, ſhall not be " reſtrained from their Profeſſion, but have due In- " couragement, and equal Protection in the Profeſ- " ſion of their Faith, and Exerciſe of their Religi- " on, whilſt they abuſe not their Liberty to the " civil Injury of others, or diſturbance of others in " their way of Worſhip: So that this Liberty be not " extended to *Popery* or *Prelacy*, nor to ſuch as " ſhall practiſe or hold forth Licentiouſneſs or Pro- " phaneneſs under the profeſſion of Religion: And " that all Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances, and Clau- " ſes in any Laws, Statutes or Ordinances to the " contrary, may be declared null and void.

" 7. That a godly, faithful and painful Goſpel- " preaching Miniſtry be every where encouraged, " countenanced and maintained.

" 8. That the *Univerſities* and *Schools* of *Learning* be " ſo countenanced and reformed, as that they may " become the *Nurſeries* of Piety and Learning.

" 9. That ſuch Perſons as have at any Time " ſince the 20th of *May* 1642, aided, or aſſiſted, or " adhered to the late King, *Charles Stuart* his Son, " or any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever of that

" Party, againſt the Parliament or Common-wealth 1649.
" of *England*, aud all other Perſons whatſoever that
" have made uſe of any Authority or Power under
" pretence of Law, or otherwiſe, to deprive or a-
" bridge any of the good People of theſe Nations of
" their Chriſtian Liberty, or have, or ſhall expreſs
" themſelves in any Way mockers, ſcoffers, or re-
" vilers of Godlineſs, or of the Profeſſors thereof,
" or are otherways ſcandalous or looſe in their
" Converſations, or have not given good Satisfacti-
" on of their Affection and Faithfulneſs to this
" Cauſe, may be ſpeedily removed out of all Places
" of Power or Truſt in the Magiſtracy, or other
" Management of the Publick Affairs of theſe Na-
" tions; and that no ſuch Perſons may be admitted
" unto any ſuch Place of Power or Truſt for the
" future.

" 10. And foraſmuch as no Godly, or other
" good Intereſt can be preſerved, or maintained,
" unleſs the Perſons, who are chiefly intruſted with
" the Management and Exerciſe of the Government,
" be of ſuitable Spirits to thoſe Intereſts; That
" thoſe who are or ſhall be intruſted therein, be ſuch
" Perſons as ſhall be found to be moſt Eminent for
" Godlineſs, Faithfulneſs, and Conſtancy to *the good*
" Cauſe and Intereſts of theſe Nations.

" 11. That to the End the Legiſlative Authority
" of this Common-wealth may not, by their long
" ſitting, become Burthenſome or Inconvenient, there
" may be effectual Proviſion made for a due Succeſ-
" ſion thereof.

" 12. And for the better Satisfaction, and more
" firm Union of the Forces of this Common-wealth,
" in this Juncture of Affairs, for preſerving and main-
" taining the Principles and other Matters there-
" unto ſubſervient, we do unanimouſly acknow-
" ledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieute-
" nant-General of the Army, to be Commander in
" Chief of the Land-Forces of this Common-wealth.

" 13. That

1659. "13. That in Order to the eſtabliſhing and ſe-
"curing the Peace, Welfare and Freedom of the
"People of theſe Nations, for the Ends before ex-
"preſſed, the Legiſlative Power thereof may be in
"a Repreſentative of the People, conſiſting of a
"Houſe, ſucceſſively choſen by the People, in
"ſuch a Way and Manner as this Parliament ſhall
"judge meet, and of a ſelect Senate, co-ordinate in
"Power, of able and faithful Perſons, eminent for
"Godlineſs, and ſuch as continue adhering to this
"Cauſe.

"14. That the Adminiſtration of all executive
"Power of Government, may be in a *Council of*
"*State*, conſiſting of a convenient Number of Per-
"ſon qualified in all Reſpects as aforeſaid.

"15. That all Debts contracted by his late
"Highneſs, or his Father, ſince the 15th of *De-*
"*cember* 1653, may be ſatisfied, and that an honou-
"rable Revenue of Ten Thouſand Pounds *per An-*
"*num*, with a convenient Houſe, may be ſettled
"upon him and his Heirs for ever; and Ten
"Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* more upon him du-
"ring Life; and upon his honourable Mother *
"Eight Thouſand Pounds *per Annum* during her
"Life, to the end a Mark of the high Eſteem this
"Nation hath of the good Service done by his Fa-
"ther, our ever renowned General, may remain to
"Poſterity."

The Parliament's Anſwer. Baker, p. 647.

The Parliament returned an Anſwer to this Petition, in general Terms, and thanked the Army for their Affection to the Publick. After that, having taken it into Conſideration, they approved of all the Articles in general; but a particular Committee was appointed to examine thoſe which related to the Government. That Part of the Petition which had reſpect to *Richard Cromwell* and his Mother, was poſtponed, till his ſubmiſſion to the Government, which

* She was Daughter of Sir *James Bouchier* of *Eſſex*.

which was juſt eſtabliſhed, ſhould be ſecured. For this Purpoſe Commiſſioners from the Parliament waited on him with the Reſolutions of the Houſe, and to require his Submiſſion to the late Change. The Day after *Richard* returned a written Anſwer in theſe Words: 1689. Clarend. VI. p. 539.

I have peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other Night, and for the Information touching what is mentioned in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true State of my Debts to be tranſcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted. *The Protector* Richard's *Submiſſion to the Powers in being.* Baker, p. 647.

As to that Part of the Reſolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves, how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Common-wealth as it is declared by this Parliament:

I truſt my paſt Carriage hitherto hath manifeſted my Acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of GOD, and that I love and value the Peace of this Common-wealth much above my own Concernments; and I deſire that by this, a Meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the Aſſiſtance of GOD ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome degree, learned rather to ſubmit to, and reverence the Hand of GOD, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however, in reſpect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of the Nations; yet, thorow the Goodneſs of GOD, I can freely acquieſce in it being made; and do hold my ſelf obliged, as (with other Men) I expect Protection from the preſent Government, ſo to demean my ſelf with all peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the utmoſt of my Power, that all in whom I have any Intereſt do the ſame.

Richard Cromwell.

1659. When the Parliament examined the State of *Richard*'s Debts, the Article of Expences for his Father's Funeral was rejected. So that *Richard* was forced to pay the Debt, contracted on this Account, out of his own Estate, which swept away the greatest Part of his Substance, which was by no Means large, considering the High Dignity which his Father had so long enjoyed. As to the Revenue, and the annual Pension desired by the Officers for *Richard* and his Mother, the Parliament referred the Consideration of them to another Opportunity, and contented themselves with assigning two Thousand Pounds for the Payment of his private Debts. The Members had but too just Reason to complain of *Oliver Cromwell* who had deceived, and shamefully dismissed them, to think themselves under any Obligation of paying extraordinary Honours to his Memory, and of heaping so many Benefits upon his Widow and Son. At the same Time that the two Thousand Pounds were granted, he received an Order to quit *Whitehall* in six Days.

The Parliament grant him but 2000*l. to pay his Debts, and order him to quit* Whitehall.

The Reader may have observed that the Demand in the 12th Article was expressed by the Officers, in a manner, to leave no Liberty to the Parliament of electing a General, or of naming any other than *Fleetwood*, since instead of making a Petition of this Article, they said, *That they unanimously acknowledged the Lord* Charles Fleetwood *to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of the Common-wealth.* The Parliament thought it not proper to examine the manner in which this Article was expressed, to prevent any Difference which might arise between themselves and the Army, at a Time when they derived their whole Authority from the Declaration of the Officers who had restored them. *Fleetwood* therefore was appointed Commander in Chief of the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but only for a single Year. This Resolution being taken, the Parliament voted that *Fleetwood* should have Power to sign and seal such Commissions, for the Constitution of

Fleetwood *appointed General but for one Year only.*

of Officers under him, as ſhould be approved by the Parliament, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, and the Colonels *Lambert*, *Desborrow*, *Ludlow*, *Berry*, or the major Part of them who were made Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe. But upon the ſecond reading of the Bill, the Clauſe impowering *Fleetwood* to ſign Commiſſions was altered, and the Parliament ordered that all Commiſſions, both to the Commiſſion-Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, ſhould be ſigned by the *Speaker* of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State *, and delivered to the Officers *gratis* by the *Speaker* in the Parliament-Houſe. This was a plain Indication enough, that the Parliament pretended to the whole Merit of advancing the Officers. The ſame Day the Parliament voted that the Government of *Ireland* ſhould be by Commiſſioners nominated and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Perſon, and that *Henry Cromwell* ſhould be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. He obeyed without Reſiſtance, though in all probability, if he had been inclined to try his Intereſt, the new Governours would have found great Difficulties in his Removal. He was extremely beloved in *Ireland*, both by the Army and the *Engliſh* Inhabitants, no Perſon having any Injuries to complain of as received from him, who had on the contrary obliged every Body as far as lay in his Power. But, doubtleſs, his not being ſure of Succeſs, and no Orders received from his Brother for his Conduct, made him unwilling to undertake alone an Affair of that Conſequence. All Hiſtorians are unanimous in

1659.

The Parliament orders all Military Commiſſions to be ſigned by the Speaker. Clarend. VI. p. 544. Baker, Ib. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 74.

Provides for the Government of Ireland, *and recalls* Henry Cromwell Clarend. VI. Baker, Ib.

His good Character.

* The Parliament had named a Council of State for the more immediate executive Powre, to which ſeveral Gentlemen, not Members of the Houſe, were admitted. *Whitlock* was a Member of this Council. They had alſo nominated the Judges Commiſſioners of the Great-Seal, a new one being made different from the old, &c. *Whit.* p. 679.

1659. their Praiſes of him, and generally believe, that if he had filled the Poſt of his elder Brother, the Officers would have found him a Match for them, or probably not attempted to uſe him as they did *Richard.*

The Parliament enters upon Meaſures to make it ſelf Maſter of the Army. Baker, p. 648.

Fleetwood, *Desborrow*, *Lambert*, and the reſt of the principal Officers were by no Means pleaſed with the Steps taken by the Parliament. But knowing that the inferiour Officers, looked on their Dependance on the Parliament as an advantage to them, they ſmothered their Reſentments, and received their Commiſſions from *the Speaker.* On the other Hand, it was the Parliament's Opinion that nothing was of more Importance, to their own Intereſts, than to have the Army in dependance, which they flattered themſelves, would inable them to rule peaceably and abſolutely, and without doubt, perpetuate their Authority. But till this was done, they plainly ſaw they were to expect a ſtrong Oppoſition, conſidering the reſtleſs Temper of the principal Officers, who were endeavouring to make themſelves Neceſſary to prevent their loſing their Poſts. This therefore was the firſt, and almoſt, avowed Deſign of the Parliament. For this Purpoſe, the Committee appointed to examine Commiſſions was continued, which, being well acquainted with the Views of the Houſe, made great alterations in the Army by vacating the Commiſſions of ſuch as were ſuſpected, and ſubſtituting others of more aſſured Fidelity. The ſame Regulation was obſerved in regard to the Army commanded by *Monk*, a great many Officers were removed in that Army, and others appointed to ſucceed them; thoſe that were diſplaced being Perſons in whom *Monk* had the greateſt Confidence. *Clarges* had before acquainted *Monk* with theſe Deſigns, which were viſible enough, and *Monk* had but too much Cauſe to perceive them, from the Alterations intended to be made by the Committee in the Army of *Scotland.* He writ to the Committee on this Subject, in a manner ſufficiently clear, to let them know, that he was not ſo blind as not to ſee there

was

was a Deſign to undermine and ſhake his Authority. He expreſſed himſelf ſo ſtrongly, in ſome Parts of his Letter, as to give the Parliament Apprehenſions of the Danger of driving a Man to Extremities, who was at the Head of twelve Thouſand Men, and had all *Scotland* at his diſpoſal. For this Reaſon, the Officers appointed by the Committee received Orders not to be too haſty in ſetting forward for *Scotland*. But this was only to gain Time, in expectation of a more favourable Opportunity. 1659.

They continue the Monthly Tax upon the three Kingdoms. Baker, p. 649.

The 18th of *June* the Parliament voted the continuation of the Monthly Tax of thirty five Thouſand Pounds, impoſed by that which ſate in the Year 1656. After Commiſſioners were named for the Civil Government of *Ireland*, and a Commiſſion granted to *Edmond Ludlow* to command the Forces there, who had been one of the King's Judges, and a moſt zealous *Republican*.

A Conſpiracy of the Royaliſts *in favour of the King.* Baker.

In the mean time, the Parliament having received confuſed Intimations of a Plot carrying on in favour of the King, the *Royaliſts* had Orders to withdraw twenty Miles from *London*; this Intimation was not groundleſs. In the Month of *March* of this Year, the King, by a Declaration, had impowered Commiſſioners to treat in his Name with all thoſe Perſons, who having been Enemies either to himſelf, or his Father, were willing to return to their Obedience. Theſe Commiſſioners ſpared neither Pains nor Promiſes to augment the Number of the King's Friends; and certainly they could not have had a more favourable Opportunity. The whole World was weary of the Tyranny of an *Independent* Parliament conſiſting of a handful of Men, and of an Army made up chiefly of *Fanaticks*, who under colour of promoting Piety, and extending the Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt*, had only their own Advantages in view. The *Presbyterians* themſelves, and their Members, who had been drove from the Houſe in 1648, ſeeing little appearance of ever re-gaining the Ground they had loſt, and ſtanding beſides expoſed to the

The Presbyterians *inclinable to join with them.* Cook, Ch. 3. P. 74.

1659. Tyranny of *Independents* and *Fanaticks*, came at last to an Union with the King's Party, to deliver the Nation from the Servitude under which it then groaned: The Particulars and Terms of this Union are not known, because the Historians who speak of it, being all *Royalists*, have not thought fit to do so much Honour to the *Presbyterians*; but no Body can be ignorant that from this Time, the *Presbyterians* no longer appeared amongst the King's Enemies; but on the contrary very much promoted his Restoration, as will afterwards appear.

The Project of an Insurrection. Clarend. VI. p. 665.

It was in hopes either of Assistance, or, at least, no Opposition from the *Presbyterians*, that the *Royalists* formed the Design of an Insurrection in several Parts of the Nation, hoping that it would at last become general. For this Purpose they intended to seize *Glouceſter*, *Lynn*, *Plimouth*, *Exeter* and *Cheſter* at the same time. They believed their Measures were so well concerted as to leave no doubt of Success. For they persisted in their old Way of relying on the Peoples Affection for the King, in which they were often mistaken. Mr. *Mordaunt* crossed the Sea, to inform the King of Matters, who thought the Design so well laid, that he repaired secretly to *Calais* *, and then to St. *Malo*'s to be nearer *England*, in case the Design succeeded. But this Project vanished into Air like the rest. Sir *Richard Willis* the betrayer of the King's Party spoke of before, gave Information of the Plot to *Thurlow*, and he to the Council of State, which immediately put the *Militia* in safe Hands, and took all Precautions proper to defeat the Execution. *Massey* was taken in his Attempt to surprize *Glouceſter*, but found Means to escape. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townsend*, who were gone for the *West* *1 to serve the King, were arrested and committed to Prison. Only Sir *George Booth* had an opportunity of shewing himself,

Are betrayed by Willis, Clarend. Baker.

Sir George Booth *seizes* Chester, *and publishes a Manifesto.*

* Where he staid some time before he went to St. *Malo's*.

*1 They undertook to secure *Norfolk* and *Lynn* for the King.

ſelf, who at the Head of four or five Hundred Men ſeized *Cheſter*, and publiſhed a *Manifeſto* againſt the Tyranny of the Parliament, without any mention of the King intending to make the Publick believe that the Diſcontents of the People only had obliged him to take up Arms. Sir *Thomas Middleton* joined him with ſome Troops, but theſe two united Bodies were ſo inconſiderable, that *Lambert*, who was ſent againſt them by Order of Parliament, eaſily defeated them, and re-took *Cheſter*. Sir *George Booth* had the good fortune to eſcape from the firſt Purſuit, but was taken ſome Days after in the Habit of a Peaſant, and brought to the *Tower* of *London*. *Middleton* retired to a Caſtle of his own, which held out but few Days. It did not appear on this Occaſion that the People had the Intereſts of the King much at Heart. 1659.

Joined by Sir Thomas Middleton.

Defeated by Lambert.

In the mean while the King's Friends not doubting of Succeſs, had diſpatched Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, and a Miniſter into *Scotland*, to engage him in their Deſigns. Some have pretended, that *Monk* full of Hopes, that the King's Party in *England* would ſucceed, was juſt putting himſelf upon his March to ſupport them, but was ſtopped by the News of *Booth*'s defeat, and forced to feign himſelf entirely devoted to the Parliament. I cannot eaſily believe that *Monk*'s Intentions of ſerving the King were ſo early known: It is not to be denied, that the Parliament looked on him as a Man in whom little Confidence was to be repoſed, as his Principles were removed at the greateſt diſtance from *Fanaticiſm*, which then infected both Parliament and Army. This Opinion of *Monk* the Parliament plainly ſhewed immediately after *Booth*'s and *Middleton*'s defeat by *Lambert*. For rightly judging that this Victory would keep *Monk* in awe, the Parliament made no Difficulty to confirm the Changes before intended in the Army of *Scotland*. *Monk* was ſo offended with this Procedure, that he writ to the *Speaker* to deſire his diſmiſſion; but *Clarges* his Brother-in-Law prevailed with the *Speaker* to keep this

Monk *the Clergyman ſent by the* Royaliſts *to General* Monk, Auguſt. Clarend. VI. Baker, p. 650.

The Scotch *Army reformed by the Parliament, which offends* Monk. Baker, p. 653.

1659. this Letter from the Parliament, which, without doubt, would have made no difficulty to grant his Requeſt.

As the Peace between *France* and *Spain* was to be tranſacted at St. *Jean de Luz*, between the prime Miniſters of the two Crowns, the King believed that his Preſence there might be of ſome Service to him; he therefore departed for *Fontarabia* in *September*, and croſſed the Kingdom of *France Incognito*. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the Succeſs of this Journey, when I have firſt given my Reader an account of the Revolution which happened in *England*.

The King goes to Fontarabia, September. Clarend. VI.

Conferences of the Army-Officers to prevent the Deſigns of the Parliament, Baker, p. 654.

The principal Officers of the Army, which kept in *London*, were ſtill highly diſpleaſed with the Parliament, as they plainly perceived that their Deſign was to become Maſter of the Army. They therefore thought it time to enter upon Meaſures for the Prevention of this Deſign, and the maintaining themſelves in their Credit and Poſts. They had for this Purpoſe ſeveral ſecret Meetings. But one Difficulty was firſt to be ſurmounted, before any Reſolution could be taken. This was, that the inferiour Officers were very well ſatisfied with the Parliament, who careſſed them very much, intending to make uſe of them to get rid of their Commanders. *Lambert*, who commanded a Body of the Army about *Cheſter* was entirely in the Party of *Fleetwood* and *Desborrow*, well knowing that the Parliament had no kinder Intentions for him, than for the other two. Beſides, his chief Aim was to procure a perpetual confirmation of the Generalſhip to *Fleetwood*, in hopes to govern and make uſe of him for his own Advancement to the ſame Poſts, as *Cromwell* had before ſerved *Fairfax*. Though he was at a diſtance from *London*, he was not unacquainted with what paſſed in theſe Conferences, nor wanting to offer his Advice. At laſt, after many Deliberations, it was reſolved that *Lambert* ſhould try to gain the inferiour Officers of his Army, which was leſs difficult to do, than to bring over the others, who lay diſperſed in different Quarters.

Lambert though abſent has a great ſhare in them.

ters. Purſuant to this Reſolution *Lambert* being come to *Darby*, managed ſo that his Officers, whom he had carefully inſpired with diſtaſte to the Parliament, met to draw up a Petition, which, before it was offered to the Parliament, was to be communicated to *Fleetwood*, for the approbation of the General-Council of his Officers. Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* having received Advice that the Petition was brought to *London*, informed the *Commons* of it, and gave them to underſtand that the Army was contriving a very dangerous Plot, of which it was neceſſary to prevent the Conſequences. Upon this *Fleetwood* was examined touching his Knowledge of the Petition. He anſwered that he had a Copy of it, and that the Original was in the Hands of three Officers, who were named by him. Whereupon he was ordered to give Notice to theſe Officers to bring this Petition in the Afternoon, and lay it before the Houſe. This was done, and the Petition read. The Stile was in the faſhionable Language of that time, amongſt thoſe who pretended to a more exalted Piety. The Subſtance of it was to this Effect: 1659.

His Officers ſend the Plan of a Petition to be offered to the Parliament, 16th *of* September, Clarend. Baker, Cook.

The Parliament informed of it.

Orders the Petition to be laid before it.

" 1. That the Parliament would be pleaſed not " to ſuffer the Petition of the General-Council of " Officers at *Wallingford-Houſe* to be laid aſleep, as it " was the beſt Expedient yet offered to a happy and " durable Settlement. *Demands of* Lambert's *Officers.*

" 2. That ſince a great many ill-affected Perſons, " were endeavouring to ſow Diviſion in the Army, " the Parliament would be pleaſed, for the preſervation of that Union, wherein its greateſt Strength " lay, to eſtabliſh firmly the Lord *Fleetwood* in the " Command of the Army, whoſe Commiſſion was " to exſpire in a few Months, with *Lambert* for his " Lieutenant-General, *Desborrow* for the Command " of the Horſe, and *Monk* of the Foot.

" 3. That conſidering the Negligence of a great " many Perſons intruſted with Publick Employs; " the ill-Deſigns of the Enemies of the *good Cauſe*;

1659. "the Activity of ſome to favour thoſe Deſigns, and "the Affection and Zeal ſhewn by others for a "blameable Neutrality, at a time, when their Aſ-"ſiſtance is moſt wanted; the Parliament would "be pleaſed to make a diligent Inquiry upon this "Subject, and proceed to the depriving of the "Guilty of all their Employs: That on the con-"trary, ſuch as in this diſtracted Juncture declared "willingly and cheerfully for the *good Cauſe*, either "in the County-Troops, or *Militia*-Voluntiers, or "otherwiſe, may be looked on as Friends, encou-"raged, ſatisfied in their Arrears, and inveſted "with Authority in their ſeveral Countries.

"4. That in the late Inſurrections ſome conſide-"rable Corporations having aſſiſted the Enemy, re-"ceived and furniſhed them with Arms; the Par-"liament would be pleaſed to give ſome ſignal Mark "of their Diſfavour againſt them; and for the fu-"ture ſo regulate the Corporations, that Perſons "well qualified, according to the Government of a "well conſtituted Common-wealth, may be intruſt-"ed with Authority of the Magiſtracy in any of the "ſeveral Towns, *that ſo the Footſteps of Monarchy "may be rooted out.*

"5. That all Perſons whatſoever, *Magiſtrates*, *Mi-"niſters* or others, who have ſecretly ſtirred up the In-"habitants of theſe Nations to War and Commotions "againſt the Parliament, and particularly to the *late "Inſurrections*, may be proceeded againſt as the Par-"liament in their Judgement ſhall think fit."

The Parliament vote againſt it. The Houſe in a Debate upon this Petition, the next Morning voted, *That to have any more General-Officers in the Army than are already ſettled by the Parliament, is needleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common-wealth; and that* Fleetwood *ſhall acquaint them with this Reſolve.*

Fleetwood having communicated this Vote to ſome Officers at his own Houſe, it was reſolved by them, That the Petition of *Lambert's* Officers ſhould not be

be inſiſted on; but on the contrary, an Addreſs offered to the Parliament, to profeſs an Adherence to their Authority againſt the common Enemy, and that they would ſtand by them in the Settlement of the Common-wealth againſt all Diſturbances whatſoever; and that this ſhould be prepared and brought to be read, and conſidered by a General-Council of Officers to meet for that Purpoſe the 27th of *September*. 1659.

The Great Council of Officers reſolve to preſent another Petition. Baker, p. 656.

Thoſe who had the Care of preparing this Addreſs, diſcharged their Truſt, in a manner, little agreeable to the Intention of the Perſons who ordered it, as will be ſeen preſently. Nevertheleſs, the Addreſs was approved in the General-Council of the Officers, by a Majority of Voices, and ſigned by two Hundred and thirty then in and about *London*; but it was not preſented till the 5th of *October*. On the other Hand, the Parliament took all poſſible Meaſures to prevent its being preſented at all, partly by ſatisfying the Army in its Arrears, partly by ſowing Diviſion amongſt the Officers, as they well knew that the Addreſs was not univerſally approved, and viſibly intended to beget a Breach between the Army and the Parliament; but all their Endeavours were to no Purpoſe. The 5th of *October Desborrow*, attended by a great many Officers, went to the Houſe to offer the Petition or Addreſs. It was introduced by a long *Preamble*, in which it was pretended, that the Intentions of the Army were maliciouſly repreſented to the Parliament by ill-affected Perſons, to create Diviſion betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that it was in juſtification of themſelves, from the Charge of ſuch falſe and malicious Accuſations, that they preſented this humble Addreſs beginning with the Four following Aſſertions:

The Parliament tries to prevent it, Ibid. p. 657.

We do humbly and plainly declare,

1. *That notwithſtanding what any Perſons may ſuggeſt, or ſay to the contrary, We are not for, but againſt the ſetting up any* ſingle Perſon *whatſoever in Supreme Authority: And for a Demonſtration hereof, We may*

It is offered October 5. Baker, p. 657.

1659. *appeal to your own Judgements, upon our late Actings, wherein since our* Declaration *of the sixth of* May *last, We have with all Industry, and Faithfulness, endeavoured to render ourseves serviceable to you and the* Common-wealth, *and have chearfully observed your Commands, some of us with our Lives in our Hands in your late Service: Wherein to our great Encouragement, the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the* Good Old Cause, *for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this* Parliament *to the discharge of their remaining Trust, We did with simplicity and plainness in our* Humble Petition *and* Address *presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Desires, and that with much unanimity and fullness of Consent, which we apprehend was well accepted by you.*

2. *That we have not since changed our Principles leading to a well-regulated* Common-wealth, *wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety, and Ability imployed in Places of Trust and Concernment; but resolve, by the Assistance of God to remain constant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, that he would incline your Hearts effectually to prosecute the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Government, whereby all the good People of these Nations may rationally expect, that such Liberties and Rights shall be preserved to them and their Posterities. And we can truly say, that it is in our Hearts earnestly to desire that God would Crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy, by such a* Settlement *as may not be liable to every Change of Governours, and to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Governments.*

3. *Whereas a* Petition *and* Proposals *were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade, that (under the Command of Major-General* Lambert,) *hazarded themselves in your Service with good Success, whereby through the Blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Servants and Friends, the Peace of this* Common-wealth *is still continued: And the said* Petition *was sent*

ſent up to ſome Officers, here to be preſented to the Lord Fleetwood ; *which had been by ſome interpreted to evil and ſiniſter Ends, and from thence Suggeſtions derived, as if they were Intentions to violate the* Parliament, *to ſet up a* ſingle Perſon, *or another* General : *In order thereunto, We do ſincerely profeſs (what ever the Deſign of any may be to promote ſuch cauſeleſs Jealouſies) we have had no other than Faithfulneſs and Candour in our Hearts and Actions towards the* Parliament ; *nor do we apprehend (with ſubmiſſion we may ſpeak it) any Reaſon or Cauſe of Offence to be conceived againſt your faithful Servants, who lately gave ſo ample Proof of their Fidelity and Courage.* 1659.

4. *We cannot but eſteem our ſelves unhappy to have been ſo miſrepreſented to the* Parliament, *as ſhould occaſion ſuch a publick Admonition upon Record ; and conſidering what evil Uſe may be made of theſe Things by the publick Enemy, and to the end they may be diſappointed of their Hopes, and all ſuch Perſons diſcouraged as ſhall go about for the future to promote Jealouſies, or by miſinformation to beget Diviſions betwixt the* Parliament *and their faithful Servants the Army : And that a good Underſtanding may be preſerved between them we humbly pray.*

1. *That the Officers of the Army, and particularly thoſe who have Reaſon to bear the Marks of your Favour for their Faithfulneſs in the late* Northern Expedition, *may ſtand Right in your Opinion, and have your Countenance.*

2. *That whatſoever Perſon or Perſons ſhall for the future groundleſly and cauſeleſly, inform the Houſe againſt your Servants, thereby creating Jealouſies, and ſcandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Juſtice and condign Puniſhment.*

3. *That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty, in a peaceable and ſubmiſſive Way, to petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by your ſelves aſſerted, allowed and approved of ; We cannot but alſo aſſert the ſaid Liberty, and humbly conceive,*

1659. *conceive, that your faithful Servants of the Army, may have no ways forfeited their Rights as Freemen, and that therefore they hope it will be no Offence for them to submit their humble Desires to the* Parliament.

4. *That you would be pleased to take into your serious Consideration, the necessitous Condition of the poor Soldiers, of your Armies, and that all possible Care may be taken for their timely Supply, their Wants being such as earnestly call for it: And that some speedy and effectual course may be taken to provide for the maimed Soldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as have been slain in your Service, that the Blessing of God may be upon you.*

5. *That such who have freely offered themselves in the several Counties, and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by you and your Cause in the late* Insurrections, *with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have your Encouragement, and be imployed in Places of Trust and Command.*

6. *That it being a thing granted by all, that without due Execution of martial* Discipline, *the Peace, Union and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; the Discipline of the Army may be preserved inviolable, and in particular, that no Officer or Soldier of the Army may be cashiered, or dismissed from their Places, without a due proceeding at a* Court-Marshal, *or by his own Consent, except in Cases of Reducement or Disbanding.*

7. *That it being judged necessary by the* Parliament *for the keeping of the Army under such a Conduct as may render the same serviceable to the* Common-wealth, *to appoint a* Committee of Nominations, *for the proposing of Officers to the* Parliament, *for their Approbation; We humbly pray, that no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Consideration of the said* Committee, *and be by them presented.*

8. *The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this* Common-wealth, *and his Commission at present (as we conceive) expiring within a few Months, We humbly pray, that the*

the Conſideration of that Matter may come before you, and ſome ſuch effectual Courſe be taken therein, as may prevent our Fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confuſion. 1659.

9. *And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and againſt all Diſcouragement whatſoever, proceed in carrying on of that Good Work intruſted in your Hands, for the Glory of God, and Advantage of theſe Nations. In the Proſecution whereof, through the help of our God, We ſhall be found (notwithſtanding all Endeavours to the contrary) faithful to you and this* Common-wealth.

The Parliament offended, yet returns a mild Anſwer, Baker, p. 659.

How Reſpectful ſoever the Terms of this Addreſs might be, the Parliament were not pleaſed with the Contents, as it ſeemed to teach them their Duty, or rather to reproach them with ſome Neglect in it. They had forgot that this was the Language in which the Army ſpoke to the *Presbyterian* Parliament in ſupport of the *Independent* Party, which then was very agreeable to them. It was manifeſt, that a Pretence was ſought for a Quarrel by the Officers, and the Parliament was but too ſenſible of it. But the Army was their only Support, and the hopes of a Diviſion amongſt the Officers, from the diſſent of ſome to the preſenting this Addreſs, their laſt Refuge. And therefore this was the Reaſon that, after ſome Members had warmly inveighed againſt the Inſolence of the Officers, the Houſe however returned a moderate Anſwer, that they might gain Time, and keep them in Temper, whom they were in no Condition to reſiſt. The Officers therefore, who had delivered the Addreſs, were called in, and thanked by the *Speaker* for their Affection and Fidelity to the Parliament; to which was added, that the Parliament had already begun to provide for the Relief of the diſabled Soldiers, the Orphans and Widows, as well as to find Ways and Means for the diſcharge of the Arrears due to the Army, and that they would ſoon feel the happy Effects of their Labours.

Desborrow

1659. *The Officers distrustful of the Parliament.*

Desborrow brought the Answer to the General-Council of Officers which assembled the same Day; but as they were informed of the Heats the Parliament had been in against them, it was suspected that the Members had only an Intention to gain Time for their own Security, or to change the Constitution of the Army. They therefore came to a Resolution of having their Address signed by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and of writing to them on that subject, which was done the same Day.

Monk *writes submissively to the Parliament.*

Two Days after the Parliament having received from *Monk*, by Letter, Assurances of his entire Obedience, returned him a gracious Answer, letting him know the high Esteem they had of his Services with assurance of revoking all the Orders which might have given him any Cause of disgust. The Parliament and Officers equally looked upon it as a considerable Advantage to have *Monk* in their Interests. The Parliament from their Hopes of that General's being well-affected to their Cause, shewed a little more Firmness and Resolution than they had ever done before. So that in their Debates upon the Officers Address, a distinct Answer was returned to each Article, and the Officers given to understand that their Complaints were without any just Grounds, and that the Parliament was neither under any Obligation, nor in the Humour to give them an account of their Conduct. This Answer convinced the Officers that Matters were come to such a pass, that they must either resolve to submit to the Parliament, or endeavour a Dissolution. But they could not bring themselves to submit without one Tryal first of the Mastery. It was with this View that *Lambert* brought his Forces nearer *London*, and appeared there himself to support his Friends. The Parliament on their Side seeing a Breach with the Army was at Hand, made haste and passed an Act to declare it High-Treason to levy Money upon the People without the consent of Parliament. The drift of this was to take from the Army the Means

The Parliament returns a haughty Answer to the Address from the Officers. October 10. Baker, p. 659.

Lambert *comes to London, and draws his Forces thither.* Clarend. VI. p. 597.

The Parliament makes an Act injurious to the Army, Baker, p. 660.

of

of Subſiſtence. The Parliament did ſtill more: For *Monk* the Clergyman being arrived from *Scotland* with aſſurances from his Brother the General of his ſupporting the Parliament, and marching to their aſſiſtance if it was neceſſary, *Lambert*, *Desborrow*, and ſome other principal Officers, who had ſigned the Addreſs, were caſhiered by the Parliament. At laſt they annulled *Fleetwood*'s Commiſſion, and named Commiſſioners for the Government of the Army, from the 11th of *October* to the 22d of *February*. But theſe Steps not being backed with Power, the Officers received the Parliament's Orders with Scorn.

1659. *And caſhiers ſeveral of his Officers, and vacates* Fleetwood's *Commiſſion.* Baker, p. 661. Clarend. VI. p. 597. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 75.

In the mean time, the Council of State, being informed that *Lambert* was aſſembling the Army, ordered two Regiments to *Weſtminſter*, to guard the Parliament. The Colonels and Officers of theſe Regiments were devoted to the Parliament, and had refuſed to ſign the late Addreſs. This did not prevent *Lambert* from executing his Deſign; he had drawn ſome Regiments into *London*, and on the 13th of *October* he ſecured all the Avenues, leading to the Parliament-Houſe *. Preſently after, the *Speaker* appearing in his Coach in his Way to the Houſe, was ſtopped by *Lambert*, and by his Orders conducted back to his Houſe. Then he ſent to the Colonels of the two Regiments, which guarded the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, to retire to their Quarters. They refuſed Obedience to his Orders, but were with a contemptuous Smile *bid to take Care of their Poſt, and ſtay as long as they pleaſed.* At the ſame time all the Members were arreſted in their Paſſage by his Order, and prevented from taking their Seats in the Parliament. Thus the Parliament having nei-

Lambert aſſembles the Army. Two Regiments ordered to Weſtminſter *by the Council of State for ſecurity of the Parliament.* Cook, Ch. 3. p. 75. Lambert *hinders the Speaker from going to the Houſe.* Clarend. Baker. *The Members not ſuffered to aſſemble.*

* *Whitlock* ſays, *Evelyn* who commanded the Life-Guards of the Parliament, marching forth with his Troop, was met by *Lambert* at *Scotland-Yard* Gate, who commanded him to diſmount, which he thought ſafeſt to do, though at the Head of his Troop, and though *Lambert* was alone and on Foot. The Troop alſo obeyed *Lambert*, which he placed along *King's-ſtreet*, and ſtopped the *Speaker*, Whit. Mem. p. 688.

1659. ther Members nor Speaker could not assemble that Day, and the two Regiments placed at *Westminster* to secure them from Violence retired after having remained there till Night. They were no sooner gone, than *Fleetwood* seized all the Posts, and placed a strong Guard at the Door of the Parliament-House, to hinder the Members from meeting. The Day after, the discontented Officers cashiered, by their own Authority, those who belonged to the two Regiments appointed to guard the Parliament, and filled their Places with others of their own Nomination. The Soldiers obeyed their new Officers, and contentedly gave up the old.

The Parliaments's Guard retires.

A Guard placed by Fleetwood *at the Door of the Parliament House.*

This Anarchy continued ten Days before the Officers, now Masters of the Nation, thought of settling any Form of Government. All they did, was to nominate Ten out of their own Body to form a Council, which was to take Care of the most urgent Affairs. Afterwards they declared *Fleetwood* their General, *Lambert* their Lieutenant-General, and *Desborrow* Commissary-General of the Horse. They established likewise a Council of Seven, to nominate such Officers as should not be suspected, with Orders to exclude all there, in whom they could not confide. Mean while a Discipline so exact was observed through the Troops, that it was wonderful to see Souldiers so submissive to their Officers, so inoffensive to the People in a state of so much Confusion. As the Officers were in perpetual uneasiness from their suspicions of *Monk*, who was not of their Principles, and besides an Enemy to *Lambert*, Colonel *Cobbet* was dispatched to him to endeavour to gain him to their Party; and if that could not be done, he had secret Instructions to corrupt his Troops, and if it was possible put him under an Arrest. *Clarges* gave *Monk* private Intelligence of the Purport of *Cobbet*'s Commission.

An Anarchy of a few Days, 1659.

The Officers form a Council of ten.

Elect their own Generals.

The exact Discipline of the Army.

Colonel Cobbet *sent to* Monk *by the Officers.*

Clarend. VI. p. 603. Baker, p. 662.

During these Transactions in *England*, the King was in his Journey to *Fontarabia*, where he was but just arrived when the Treaty between the two Crowns

The King's Success at Fontarabia.

Clarend. VI.

was

was concluded. He had by Miſtake * got as far as *Saragoſſa*, where he had no Buſineſs, while the two Miniſters of *France* and *Spain* ended their Treaty. But in all likelihood he would have received no Advantage from this Treaty, had he been there from the beginning. It is indeed no eaſie Matter to gueſs what Benefit he propoſed to himſelf from this Journey, nor does the Earl of *Clarendon* think fit to give us any Light concerning it. *Don Lewis de Haro*, Prime Miniſter of *Spain*, received him civilly, and ſhewed his Compaſſion of his diſtreſſed Condition by making him a Preſent of ſeven Thouſand Piſtoles. But Cardinal *Mazarin*, for fear of rendering himſelf ſuſpected to the Parliament, would not ſo much as ſee him. Wherefore the King left *Fontarabia*, in order for *Bruſſels*, where he arrived the latter end of *December*. 1659.

The Army erect a Committee of Safety for the Adminiſtration of the Government. 26th of October. Baker, p. 662.

In the mean time the *Great Council* of Officers held frequent Aſſemblies in *London*, to endeavour at ſome Settlement of the Government, which could not be in greater Confuſion than it was at that time. At laſt, on the 26th of *October*, thirteen Days after the diſperſion of the Parliament, they agreed to eſtabliſh a *Committee of Safety* *1, and put the Government into their Hands. Sir *Henry Vane*, who, from the time of the laſt change, had come into the Meaſures of the Army, made one of this Committee along with *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborrow*, *Ludlow*, &c. The Great-Council of Officers as ſole Sovereign then of the Three Kingdoms, gave the ſame Power to this Committee, which the laſt Council of State

Its Power.

* This *Miſtake* aroſe not from the Ignorance of the Way leading to *Fontarabia*, but from a Miſtake in the King's Intelligence, that the Treaty between the two Crowns was finiſhed whilſt it was actually in Negotiation. In the firſt Caſe, the King had no Buſineſs at *Fontarabia*, and therefore Curioſity, and perhaps ſome better View, determined him to go to *Madrid*. When his Miſtake was removed he turned back, and purſued his firſt intended Journey to *Fontarabia*. See *Clarendon*.

*1 Conſiſting of 23 Perſons. *Whitlock* (who was one) ſays, he was not deſirous of that Employment, at ſuch a Time as this. *Whit. Mem.* p. 687.

1659. had before enjoyed, of punishing *Delinquents* concerned in the late Conspiracy: Of granting an Indemnity to all who had acted for the Republick from the Year 1649: Of opposing all sorts of Rebellions and Insurrections: Of disposing of Offices which were, or might become vacant: Of taking away Employments from Persons of a scandalous disorderly Life: And lastly, of selling, or receiving a Composition for the Estates of *Delinquents*. At the same time a Declaration was published to annul the Acts or Orders of the Parliament, of the 10th, 11th and 12th of *October*. In this *Paper* the Officers declared, that far from desiring to erect a Military Government they had established a *Committee of Safety*, who were to consider of, and propose a Form of Government proper to preserve the Liberties of the Subjects, and the Welfare of the Common-wealth, without a *King*, *single Person*, *or House of Lords*. This Declaration ended with Sentences full of Scripture Passages, accommodated to the Taste and Practice of the *Godly Party*.

The Declaration of the Council of Officers.

State of Monk's Affairs in Scotland. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 76.

While the Officers were domineering in *England*, *Monk* was in a great Streight in *Scotland*. He was indeed at the Head of the Government of this Kingdom, and of twelve Thousand Men, most of whom he might rely on, though many of the Officers were either *Fanaticks*, or inclined to be so, and consequently justly suspected by him. But this Army was supported by Money regularly paid from *England*, *Scotland* being insufficient for that Burden. This indeed had given *Monk* the Means of keeping an exact and severe Discipline in his Army, and of preserving such a Tranquillity in *Scotland*, as the like had not been enjoyed there of many Years. 'Tis true, the Clergy were dissatisfied with the Liberty of Conscience granted to all except *Catholicks* and *Prelatists*. But Forts erected by *Monk* in so many different Places of the Kingdom, and good Garrisons placed in them, prevented all Conspiracies of the disaffected. The Changes in *England* which followed upon *Cromwell's* Death,

Death, firſt rouſed *Monk* out of the Security which he had ſo long enjoyed in *Scotland*. For though he was equally careſſed by the Army and Parliament, becauſe they either needed or feared him, yet he was ſenſible that which Side ſoever got the better, he was to be the Victim. He had already experienced the Parliament's Kindneſs for him, in their Endeavours to undermine his Credit. And he had no room to doubt, that if this Parliament had ſubſiſted, he would have been ſet aſide by one Means or other, becauſe he was feared. On the other Hand, his Hopes were no better from the Army, which was properly commanded by *Lambert* his Enemy, under the Name of *Fleetwood*. *Lambert* conſidered *Monk* as a formidable Rival, who would never allow him to execute his Deſigns, if it were in his Power to prevent him. *Monk*, for his Part, would never have ſubmitted to be under *Lambert*. He was nevertheleſs under an abſolute Neceſſity of embracing one of the Parties. A Neutrality would have laid him open to the Reſentments of both, ſhould they ever have come to a Reconciliation, which was by no Means impoſſible. Beſides, in ſuch Caſes, the victorious Side never thinks any great Regard is due to thoſe who have ſtood Neuters. In fine, a Neutrality would have wholly deprived him of the Supplies he received from *England* for the Subſiſtence of his Army. He therefore determined his Choice on the Side of the Parliament, and without any Evaſion or Excuſe, ſent his Reſolution to *Fleetwood*. For this Purpoſe he prepared for a ſpeedy March into *England* with the beſt Part of his Army. 1659.

Reſolves to march into England.

When this Reſolution of *Monk*'s is conſidered, it is difficult to account for it, without imagining that he had other Motives to his Conduct, than theſe which appear to our firſt Thoughts. Firſt, He had no Cauſe to be pleaſed with this Parliament, as has already been ſeen, and one diſcovers no Intereſt either publick or private, which could induce him to reſtore a Parliament generally hated, and which had been al-

Motives to his Reſolution.

1659. ways distrustful of him. Secondly, *Monk* came not at first into the *Republican* Party, with any other view, than that of freeing himself from Confinement. Thirdly, Though he commanded an Army of twelve Thousand Men, he could, at most, take no more with him than half, unless he had a Mind to give the *Scots* an Opportunity of shaking off the *English* Yoke. What therefore could induce him to run the hazard of facing an Army so much superiour to his own, with only five or six Thousand Men? Lastly, The People of *England* hitherto had declared for neither Parliament nor Army, but equally hated both. *Monk* therefore could have no Hope to engage the People on his side to help him to restore a Parliament which had held them so long in a wretched Servitude. This at least clashed with the Interest of the *Royalists* and *Presbyterians*, who properly were the Body of the Nation, there being but very few who were attached either to the Parliament or the Army, though fear compelled them to Obedience. And, by the way, the small Interest which the Parliament had in the *Boroughs* or the *Counties*, was the true Reason that they never proceeded to fill up the Vacancies in their House, because they could not assure themselves of having such Members returned as they desired. These are the Considerations which naturally lead us to believe that *Monk*, when he resolved to march into *England*, under Colour of re-establishing the Parliament, secretly intended to serve and restore the King. But it is not equally clear what was his Plan, or what the Means were to accomplish so great a Design. If the Authors who have writ on the King's side are to be believed, he marched into *England* at the Head of only five Thousand Men; and by the Terrour of this Army, joined to the Wishes of the Nation, and his own prudent Conduct, he effected this happy Change. All this is true; but it is not the whole of the Truth. One Part is concealed by partial Historians, or only confusedly told. For my Part, I shall give my Opinion, which I leave to the

He designs to restore the King.

the Judgement of the unprejudiced Reader. I own I cannot ſupport it with the clear and undeniable Teſtimony of the Hiſtorians who have writ of thoſe Times. But I think I can ground it upon ſome thing ſtronger than the Evidence of Hiſtorians; I mean, upon the Facts themſelves, and General *Monk*'s whole Conduct. The Reader will judge of it hereafter. 1659.

His Plan in order to it.

After the *Presbyterians* had been drove from the Parliament in 1648, they had been kept extremely low, becauſe their Numbers rendered them formidable to the *Independent* Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell* himſelf. They had never been able to recover their Seats in Parliament, a few only excepted, who had thruſt themſelves in by a Diſſimulation, which nevertheleſs, as appears from *Ludlow*'s *Memoirs*, could not deceive the *Independents*. Sir *William Waller*, one of their Generals, was no longer in a Condition to put himſelf at the Head of an Army, and *Maſſy* had embraced the King's Cauſe. Wherefore having no more Buſineſs in the Parliament, or any Leader to appear in the Head of them, they had continued in Subjection to the *Independent* Parliament, and afterwards to *Cromwell*, without any Hopes of being able to raiſe again their dejected Party: They had for Enemies *Cromwell*, the Army, the Parliament, the *Royaliſts*, and were kept from all Employments which might give them any Credit. We have already ſeen that being weary of this their wretched Situation, they had diſcovered an Inclination to an Union with the King's Party, or at leaſt made appear that they would not at all be diſpleaſed with the Succeſs of the Deſign formed by that Party for an Inſurrection in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. The ill Succeſs of that Undertaking was the Reaſon, without doubt, that the Union was puſhed no farther. Nevertheleſs, *Monk* knowing how the *Presbyterians* ſtood affected, employed, in all likelihood, *Clarges* his Confident to make a ſecret Agreement with ſome of their Chiefs for the reſtoring of the

Ludlow.

1659. King by their Means. The Scheme which was laid for that Purpoſe, and which could not be executed without the *Presbyterians*, was, as appears by the whole Sequel, briefly this:

Monk ingaged, no doubt, to march into *England* and reſtore the *Rump*-Parliament, which had been diſperſed by the Officers. This was the firſt Step he had to take. This Parliament being reſtored, *Monk*'s next Buſineſs was to join with the City of *London*, wholly *Presbyterian*, and to demand that the Members drove from the Parliament in 1648, might reſume their Seats, or, if the *Rump* denied that, to introduce them into the Houſe by force. Theſe Members reſtored, muſt, by their Numbers, have a great Majority in the Houſe, and compoſe properly a *Presbyterian* Parliament. It was agreed that this Parliament ſhould diſſolve it ſelf, after having ſummoned another, *Free*, and compoſed, agreeably to the antient Conſtitution, of a *Houſe of Lords* and a *Houſe of Commons*. This new Parliament muſt of courſe conſiſt only of *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians* (the *Independents* having too little Credit to carry any Elections) and was to reſtore the King, to which the *Presbyterians* gave their hearty Approbation. In all likelihood they ſtipulated ſome Conditions for themſelves, though we are ignorant of the Particulars. It is not however to be doubted that Conditions were ſtipulated, ſince after the Reſtoration of *Charles* II, they complained bitterly of Breach of Promiſe. This appears farther in that 'tis urged, to vindicate *Charles* II, for not Keeipng his Word with them, that it was not in his Power to diſpenſe with Laws, and conſequently that his Promiſe was null and void. This was the Scheme for the reſtoring the King, which, as will be afterwards ſeen, was cloſely purſued. If on ſome Occaſions *Monk* ſeemed to have forgot it, this was owing to a Diſſimulation, which he believed abſolutely neceſſary to cover his Deſign of reſtoring the King, which would otherwiſe have been in danger of being over-turned. The Blow

The Presbyterians *conſent and contribute to the King's Reſtoration.* Salmon's Review, *&c.*

was

was to be ſtruck in an Inſtant, and other Pretences were to be made uſe of, that the King's Enemies might be taken unprepared to oppoſe the Execution. Now no Inſtrument could be more proper for this than the *Presbyterians*, who were by no Means ſuſpected of deſiring the King's Reſtoration. Notwithſtanding the Hiſtorians of that time could not bring themſelves to allow the *Presbyterians* any Share in this unexpected Event, though they have been in ſome Meaſure under a neceſſity of following, in their Account of this Tranſaction, the Scheme I have juſt laid down. They have contented themſelves with an Inſinuation that this Change was owing to the united Wiſhes of the People, as if the *Presbyterians* had not been a conſiderable, and perhaps the greateſt Part of the People. This Scheme being ſuppoſed, all Difficulties in this Affair are removed. All *Monk*'s Proceedings will appear uniform, and the natural Conſequences thereof. But if it is ſuppoſed that *Monk* conſented to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Presbyterian* Members, drove from Parliament in 1648, without any thing previouſly ſtipulated in their Favour, it will never be underſtood how he could believe it neceſſary to reſtore a *Presbyterian* Parliament, in order to place the King upon the Throne without any Conditions. 1659.

The Committee of Safety ſend Clarges to Monk, to propoſe an Accommodation.

The firſt Thing done by the *Committee of Safety*, lately eſtabliſhed by a General-Council of Officers, was to ſend *Clarges* to *Monk*, to bring him to ſome Agreement. They were not ignorant of the falſe Step taken by the Officers in uſurping the Sovereign Power without the Approbation of a General at the Head of twelve Thouſand Men, and this was the Errour which the Committee was deſirous to rectify. But they could not have made choice of a worſe Meſſenger than *Clarges*, whoſe Aims were ſolely to ſerve the King, and who, probably, had engaged *Monk* in the ſame Deſign.

Monk prepares for his March.

In the mean time *Monk* was making all poſſible haſte and preparation for his Expedition, in order to which

1659. which he had ſeveral Difficulties to overcome. 1. His Forces diſperſed through all *Scotland* required, at leaſt, ſix Weeks to draw them together. 2. Ready Money was to be provided for their Maintenance, no more being to be had out of *England*. For this Purpoſe the Taxes were to be anticipated, and even extraordinary Supplies to be asked of the *Scots*. 3. In his Troops were ſome Officers on whoſe Fidelity he could not rely. 4. It was abſolutely neceſſary to his Deſign to have ſome Towns on the Frontiers of *England*, to facilitate his Entrance, as he knew that *Lambert* was marching *Northwards* with Deſign to oppoſe him. All theſe Difficulties were luckily overcome by him, except the firſt, which was owing to the Diſtance of his Forces. To remove the remaining Difficulties, he began firſt with caſhiering ſeveral of his Officers ſuſpected by him, and ſubſtituting others in their room. He kept thoſe with him whom the Parliament had a Mind to deprive him of; but had not yet ſent any to ſucceed them. Then he ſummoned to *Edinburgh* the Officers of the neareſt Regiments, and communicating to them his Deſign of marching into *England*, to reſtore the Parliament, he had the Satisfaction to find them diſpoſed to come into his Views. This done, he found Means to ſecure *Berwick*, and arreſt Colonel *Cobbet* who was there, and whoſe ſecret Inſtructions were made known to him by *Clarges*. *Cobbet* was ſent to *Edinburgh*, and there impriſoned. *Monk* likewiſe made an Attempt to ſurprize *New-Caſtle*, but was diſappointed. As to the Money he ſtood in need of, he raiſed as much as was poſſible; and while his Army was gathering together, he ſollicited the *Scots* for an extraordinary Supply.

Baker, p. 664.

Ibid. 665.

Clarges comes to him in Scotland, Baker, p. 666. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 78.

While *Monk* was making theſe Preparations, *Clarges* his Brother-in-Law arrived in *Scotland* with his Propoſal for a Treaty with the *Committee of Safety*; it was reſolved betwixt them to accept the Propoſal, not with Deſign to conclude the Treaty, but to gain Time till *Monk*'s Army could be in a readineſs.

Monk and he agree to amuſe the Committee by a Negotiation.

Purſuant

Purſuant to this Reſolution *Monk*, with the Conſent of his Officers, made choice of *Wilks* Lieutenant-Colonel, *Cloberry* and Major *Knight* to be ſent to *England* for treating in his Name with the Committee; but with Inſtructions ſo drawn, as to raiſe, according to his Intentions, inſurmountable Obſtacles to the concluſion of the Treaty. Theſe three Commiſſioners found *Lambert* at *York*, who told them that he was ſufficiently impowered to treat with them. But to their Demand for reſtoring the Parliament, he anſwered, that his Power did not extend to that Article, ſo that they were obliged to go on to *London*. 1659. *Commiſſioners ſent to* London *for that Purpoſe.* Clarend. VI. p. 699. Baker, p. 667.

Theſe Commiſſioners, ignorant of *Monk*'s ſecret Intentions, were no ſooner at *London*, than they made all poſſible haſte to come to a Concluſion with the *Committee* of *Safety*; and the rather, becauſe every Thing, if I may ſay ſo, which they propoſed was accepted. So that the Treaty was concluded and ſigned the 15th of *November*, to the great Uneaſineſs and Diſſatisfaction of *Monk*, whoſe Aim was to ſpin out as long as was poſſible, and then break off the Negotiation. It would be needleſs to inſert the Treaty here, becauſe it was never executed. I ſhall only obſerve, that by the firſt Article, a vigorous Oppoſition to the King's Re-eſtabliſhment was conſented to by both Parties. *Monk*, upon receiving the Treaty, ſought Evaſions to hinder the Ratification, pretending, that his Commiſſioners had acted contrary to their Inſtructions, and ſo became ſtill more ſuſpected by the *Committee of Safety*. *A Treaty concluded contrary to* Monk's *Intention, who refuſes to ratifie it.* Nov. 15. Baker, p. 670, 672.

While *Monk* was making Preparations for his March into *England*, the Members of the late Parliament were not idle. They were as vigorous on their Side to re-eſtabliſh themſelves, and wreſt out of the Hands of the Officers their uſurped Authority, but without the leaſt Thought of reſtoring the King. They believed, or pretended to believe, that *Monk* had no other View than the Reſtoration of the Parliament, and, in this Belief, they looked upon *Monk*'s *The Members of Parliament buſy to reſtore themſelves.*

Friends

1659. Friends as theirs. This was true in general, though ſome there were of *Monk*'s Adherents in *London* better informed than the reſt, who knew what they were to believe. Be this as it will, all the Friends of the *Rump* united to ſupport *Monk*'s Deſigns, in a Suppoſition that his ſole Intent was to reſtore the Parliament. This was the Reaſon that the Members who had formed the Council of State before the interruption of the Parliament, being privately aſſembled, ſent to *Monk* a Commiſſion conſtituting him General of the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Baker, p. 673.

The Governour of Portſmouth *declares for the Parliament.*

Baker, p. 674. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 80.

On the other Hand, the Governour of *Portſmouth* *, *Monk*'s particular Friend, declared for the Parliament, and received into his Garriſon *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three Members of Parliament the moſt incenſed againſt the Army. The *Committee of Safety*, upon the firſt Notice of this Defection, ſent a Detachment of the Army to block up *Portſmouth*, but the Soldiers deſerted their Officers, declared for the Parliament, and were received into *Portſmouth* as Friends. Another Detachment ſent from the Army on the ſame Errand, did almoſt the ſame Thing, ſo that the Committee knew not on whom to rely. At the ſame time *Lawſon*, Vice-Admiral, declared for the Parliament againſt the Army, and brought ſeveral of his Ships up the *Thames*, to awe the Partizans of the Committee. *Lambert*, who commanded a Body of the Army in the *North*, being informed of the ill State of the Committee's Affairs, had detached a Regiment to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends in *London*, but that Regiment at St. *Albans* declared for the Parliament.

The Town is blocked up, and the Soldiers deſert.

Clarend. VI. p. 697.

Vice-Admiral Lawſon *does the ſame.*

Clarend. Baker. Cook.

And a Regiment ſent from Lambert.

Committee of Safety conſents to reſtore the Parliament.

Baker, p. 676. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 82.

The *Committee of Safety* ſeeing all Things go croſs, their Hearts ſeemed to fail. They took no Meaſures for their own Preſervation; but inſtead of aſſembling the Army, ſuffered it to be diſperſed into its Quarters. 'Tis likely they feared the Army's coming

* Colonel *Whetham*.

ing together, as the Soldiers of the two Detachments sent to *Portsmouth* had deserted their Officers. Mean while *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* finding themselves sufficiently strengthened by the Soldiers of the Army, which had deserted and retired to *Portsmouth*, put themselves at the Head of these Troops, and set forward for *London*. Then it was that *Fleetwood*, and the rest of the *Committee of Safety* were quite at their Wit's end. They durst not trust their own Soldiers, and were irresolute what Party to embrace. *Whitlock*, as appears from his *Memoirs*, advised *Fleetwood* either to put himself at the Head of the Army, or reconcile himself with the King. He appeared at first to listen to the last Proposal, but soon after changed his Mind, and did better. At last, his Collegues and himself wanting Capacity and Resolution to extricate themselves out of so pressing a Difficulty, consented to the Meeting of the Parliament, and voluntarily resigned their usurped Authority. Their Consent to this was immediately followed by the Flight of all their Adherents, and the entire Desertion of their Party. 1659. p. 692.

The Rump *restored, who meets the 26th of* December.

Thus the Parliament met peaceably the 26th of *December*, and named immediately a Committee to govern the Army in their Name, and under their Direction. Afterwards they dispatched express Orders to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces, and send them into the Quarters assigned by the same Order. But *Lambert*'s Troops had in some Measure prevented this Order, upon Notice that the Parliament was restored, and put their General under Arrest, who was sent Prisoner to the *Tower* of *London*. At the same time Sir *Henry Vane*, and some other Members of Parliament, who had espoused the Cause of the Army, were confined to their own Houses. Thus, by a Revolution altogether unexpected, the first and most difficult part of *Monk*'s Undertaking, namely, the restoring of the Parliament, was executed even before he left *Scotland*, and without his having any other

Lambert *put under an Arrest by his own Troops.* Clarend. VI. p. 706.

Vane *put under an Arrest.*

1659-60. other ſhare in it, than his Reſolution to march into *England*.

The King's Affairs believed to be deſperate. Clarend. VI. p. 621.

Mean while this Revolution ſeemed to extinguiſh the Hopes of the King, as a Parliament was reſtored ſo oppoſite to all his Intereſts. The World believed him loſt beyond all recovery. *France* and *Spain* began to conſider the Means they were to uſe to effect a ſolid and laſting Alliance with the Parliament, which would have left it very difficult for the King to have found any Place to retire for his Subſiſtance. But though he pretended an outward Concern for his ſeemingly deplorable Condition, there is nevertheleſs a good deal of likelihood, that he was well informed of *Monk*'s Intentions, and of the Manner in which they were to be executed. For though the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms that the King had only a Hope of being ſerved by *Monk*, in order to his own Security, yet I cannot perſwade my ſelf that *Monk*, however reſerved he might be to others, concealed his Intentions from the King, ſince there was no Danger in the Diſcovery *.

A Conjecture upon this Subject. Clarend. VI. p. 707.

Be that as it will, *Monk*, before he left *Scotland*, conveened the Deputies of the Nobility, the Cities and the Boroughs aſſembled at *Edinburgh*, and communicated to them his Intentions of marching into *England*, to reſcue the Parliament from the Force put upon them by the Army, and reſtore them to their Authority. Theſe Deputies, who made a ſort of Convention of Eſtates, though the Union of the two Kingdoms denied them the Name, offered *Monk* to increaſe his Army with ſome Troops of their Nation, and granted him a Sum of thirty Thouſand Pounds to enable him to maintain them. He accepted the Money, but refuſed the Troops, believing he had no need of them. Some *Scotch* Writers affirm,

Monk procures a Supply of Money from the Scots. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 79.

* *Monk* placed no Confidence in *Hyde*, and when he ſent the Aſſurance of his Service to the King by Sir *John Greenvil*, it was with this Proviſo, that *Hyde* ſhould not be let into the Secret: So ſays *Bevil Higgons*, who had it from his own Mother, Siſter to Sir *John Greenvil*.

firm, that in diſmiſſing this Aſſembly, he recommended to them all poſſible Care for preſerving the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and deſired from them a poſitive Abjuration of the King and Royal Family. But *Gumble* who was his Chaplain, and writ his Life, poſitively denies it. Thus much is certain, that it was abſolutely Neceſſary for him to conceal, with the greateſt Care, his Intention to ſerve the King, and that his Fear of betraying this Secret made him, on ſome Occaſions, puſh his Diſſimulation even to exceſs. This however did not prevent his being extremely ſuſpected by thoſe who would not hear of the King's Reſtoration. Theſe Men were in great Numbers. To ſay nothing of the Army, which aſſuredly had no ſuch Intention, though without their Knowledge, their March was deſigned for that Purpoſe alone. 1659-60.

Monk entered *England* with his Army the 2d of *January* 1659-60, and conſequently he might have received Information of the *Rump*'s Re-eſtabliſhment. Some Days after, he received a Letter from the *Speaker*, which acquainted him with what had been done, and thanked him in the Name of the Parliament for his kind Intentions, inſinuating to him, that if he thought it convenient, he might ſave himſelf the trouble of coming to *London*, as the Parliament was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Authority; but this Letter gave no interruption to his March. If it is conſidered that this March was undertaken with a Pretence to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament, and yet it was continued, though this Reaſon of it was removed, it will be no difficult Matter to perceive that he had another Motive than what was at firſt alledged. But this Pretence failing, he was obliged to find another, and that was the Aſſiſting the Parliament to bring the Army to a Temper of Obedience and Submiſſion, On his Arrival at *York* he found the Lord *Fairfax*, formerly General to the Parliament, at the Head of ſome Troops of that County, and in Poſſeſſion of this City, in order to hinder

Armies in England, *2d of* January. Clarend. VI p. 624. Baker, p. 677.

Receives a Letter from the Parliament to ſtop his Journey, but pays no regard to it. Ibid.

Is received into York *by the Lord* Fairfax, Clarend. VI. p. 709. Baker, p. 678.

1659-60. hinder the *Committee of Safety* from being Masters of it. The Lord *Fairfax* received *Monk* into the City without any Difficulty, and they had many Conferences together. *Fairfax* was a *Presbyterian*, though *Cromwell* had made him a Tool to the Advancement of the *Independents*. So that it is difficult to comprehend what View he could have in contenancing *Monk*'s Designs, if the *Presbyterian* Faction had not secretly been engaged in the Project of the King's Restoration.

The Parliament suspects him.

All *Monk*'s Dissimulation and Pretences of having no other View, but that of restoring the *Rump*, could not blind so many able Men from seeing that he had some other hidden Design. But they hesitated between two Opinions in appearance equally probable. These Opinions were, either that he had a Design of his own Advancement after the Example of *Cromwell*, or an Intention to restore the King. It was for this Reason that the *Rump*, a few Days after their Meeting, formed a Council of State consisting of Twenty nine Members, *Monk* being one; who, by an Order, were to take the following Oath:

Forms a Council of State, Baker, p. 678.

And imposes an Oath upon the Members.

I do hereby Swear that I do renounce the pretended Title if CHARLES STEUART, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Person as a single Person, pretending, or which shall pretend to the Crown or Government of these Nations of* England, Scotland *or* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God be true, faithful and constant to the Parliament and Common-wealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any* single Person *or* House of Lords, *and every of them in this* Common-wealth.

Sends two Commissioners to be Spies upon him, Baker, p. 678. Cook. Ch. 3. p. 82.

This Precaution did not quiet the Fears of the Parliament with regard to *Monk*, who daily became more suspected, notwithstanding all his Care to disguise his secret Intentions. It was therefore resolved to

to ſend two Deputies to him, under the Pretence of doing him Honour; but in reality to be Spies upon him. *Scot* and *Robinſon* were made Choice of, who ſet forward, and came to him at *Leiceſter* the 22d of *January*. In this City likewiſe he received Deputies from *London* who waited on him with an Addreſs, the Purport of which was to pray a Reſtitution of the Members to their Seats, who had been excluded from Parliament in the Year 1648. *Scot*, one of the Deputies from the Parliament, interrupted the *London* Deputy while he was reading the Addreſs, and commanded him Silence, looking upon this Propoſal as a direct Attempt to deſtroy the *Republican* Parliament. This did not prevent *Monk* from receiving the Addreſs. As he marched along, he received a great many ſuch, ſo that the general Senſe of the Nation ſeemed to be for the putting the Government into the Hands of the *Presbyterians*. Let us ſtay a Moment to make ſome Reflections upon this extraordinary Change.

1659-60.

Monk *receives an Addreſs from* London *for the reſtitution of the ſecluded Members*, Clarend. VI. p. 710. Baker, p. 680. *And others of the like Nature.* Ibid.

It cannot be denied that the Members drove from the Houſe in 1648 were *Presbyterians*, who had on all Occaſions ſhewn an extreme Animoſity againſt the King and the Church of *England*. If they had teſtified any Zeal for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the late King, this was owing to Conceſſions made by him in their Favour in the Treaty of *Newport*, which he looked upon as intolerable, and had conſented to meerly from the Neceſſity of his Affairs. Nay, the Parliament could not bring themſelves to a Reſolution of granting ſome Reſtrictions deſired by the King to their Demands. If they voted that theſe Conceſſions might ſerve as a Foundation for Peace, this was only at a Time when the Army was already got into *London*, and ready to execute the Violence which was acted the next Day. The *Presbyterians* therefore are to be conſidered as having been all along the declared and perpetual Enemies of *Charles* I. From the 6th of *December* 1648, they had been kept very much under, and had for Enemies the *Royaliſts*,

Reflections upon this Occaſion.

1659-60. *liſts*, the Parliament, the Protector, and the Army, and were without all Credit or Authority. Nevertheleſs, during *Monk*'s March, this Party at once begin to lift up their Heads, and even become ſuperiour to all the others by a ſeeming Conſpiracy of the whole Nation, to put the Supreme Power into their Hands, in demanding the Reſtitution of the Members excluded in 1648. What could be the Motive to ſo great a Number of Addreſſes on this Subject, offered to *Monk* in his March? And what could be his Inducement to receive them ſo favourably? Certainly when he left *Scotland*, his Intention was to labour for the King's Reſtoration, whatever Pretences he made uſe of to cover his Deſign. But had not the *Presbyterians* engaged to favour his Attempt, the raiſing their Party, and putting them again in Poſſeſſion of the Government, would have been a very unlikely Means to compaſs his Ends. All that he could have gained by this Step, would have been the Reſtoration of the King upon the ſame Terms which his Father had complied with in the Treaty of *Newport*, which doubtleſs was very far from his Intention. Let us therefore conclude, that all theſe Addreſſes were the Effect, or the Conſequence of a ſecret Agreement between the *Royaliſts* and *Presbyterians*, by which theſe laſt had conſented to the King's Re-eſtabliſhment, on Conditions relating to their Religion alone, without any Terms as in the *Newport* Treaty concerning the Government. Without this Suppoſition, the Steps afterwards taken for the King's Reſtoration can never be conceived, and with it all the Proceedings are natural and eaſie.

Monk's Diſſimulation.

This Agreement was a Secret which was carefully to be concealed, to prevent, by its diſcovery, an Accommodation between the Parliament and the Army; which, had it happened, would have made *Monk* little able to execute his Deſigns with only five Thouſand Men. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the Addreſſes preſented to him were all read, he was very cautious of ſhewing any Approbation of them,

them, and contented himſelf with a general Anſwer, that they ſhould be laid before the Parliament. 1659-60.

Monk, as I ſaid before, had only five Thouſand Men *. This Army could give no hopes of Succeſs againſt the other, three Times more numerous, and of which a great many Regiments were now in *London*. If the Parliament and Army could have united together, they would, doubtleſs, have rendered all *Monk*'s Deſigns impracticable. But the Parliament was more jealous of their own Army than of *Monk*'s. They only ſuſpected that General of having ſecret Deſigns, without knowing exactly what they were. But that the General-Officers of the Army would become their Maſters, if there was no doing without them, was too apparent to be doubted of. It was *Monk*'s Intereſt therefore to keep up this Miſunderſtanding betwixt them, and he could not more ſucceſsfully do it, than by profeſſing an entire Devotion to the Intereſt of the Parliament. This took from the Parliament all Thoughts of an Union with the Army, which appeared altogether unneceſſary, while *Monk*'s Fidelity could be depended upon. This was the true Ground of *Monk*'s Diſſimulation, and of pretending on all Occaſions, that his March to *London* was deſigned purely for the Service of the Parliament, and undertaken in Obedience to their Orders. *The Reaſon of it.*

When he was come to St. *Albans*, twenty Miles from *London*, he writ to the Parliament to deſire that the Regiments, quartered in the City, might be obliged to retire at a Diſtance, it not being at all convenient that Troops, which had ſo lately been in Rebellion againſt the Parliament, ſhould mix with thoſe which were entirely devoted to their Intereſt, and brought them the Tender of their Services. With this Letter he ſent a Method for the quartering his Troops in *London*, and the lodging thoſe which *Demands that the Forces in* London *withdraw, to make room for his.* Clarend. VI. Baker, p. 680. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 83.

* Dr. *Skinner* ſays, his Army, upon a Review at *Highgate*, amounted to five Thouſand eight Hundred Men. *p.* 221.

1659-60. *His Demand granted.* were to be removed from thence. Though this Demand was ſuſpected by many Members to have ſomething myſterious in it, it was nevertheleſs granted by a Majority of Voices, and Orders were ſent to the Regiments quartered in the City immediately to remove. This ſhows either that *Fleetwood* and *Desborrow* were no able Politicians, who could not perceive that *Monk*'s Intention was to become Maſter of the City and Parliament, or that they believed they had not a ſufficient Command over their inferiour Officers, to venture to oppoſe him. It ſeems that they could reſolve nothing without *Lambert*, who was now a Priſoner in the *Tower*.

Monk *enters* London, Feb. 3. Baker, p. 682. However that be, *Monk* artfully turning the Diviſion between the Parliament and the Army to his own Advantage, entered, as it were, in Triumph into *London* the 3d of *February* 1659-60. After he had given Orders for the Quartering of his Troops, he repaired to the Council of State, who immediately tendered him the *Abjuration-Oath* before-mentioned, which all the Members were obliged to take. But he asked Time to reſolve, ſaying, he had been informed that ſtrong Objections had been made to this Oath, even in the Parliament-Houſe. Upon this Refuſal he was denied a Place amongſt the Members of the Council of State, till he had taken the Oath, and was obliged to withdraw.

Refuſes the Abjuration Oath. Ibid.

Complimented by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. Clarend. VI. p. 711. Baker, p. 682. The 6th of *February* he went to the Parliament, where he received the Compliments and Thanks of the *Speaker* in behalf of the Houſe; to which he returned the following Anſwer:

Mr. *Speaker*,

"AMongſt the many Mercies of God to theſe "poor Nations, your peaceable Reſtitu- "tion is not the leaſt. It is (as you ſaid) his Work "alone, and to him belongs the Glory of it; and I "eſteem it as a great Effect of his Goodneſs to me, "that he was pleaſed to make me, amongſt many

" worthier in your Service, ſome way inſtrumental 1659-60.
" in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and deſerve
" not to receive ſo great an Honour and Reſpect as
" you are pleaſed to give me at this Time and
" Place, which I ſhall ever acknowledge as a high
" Mark of your Favour to me.

" Mr. SPEAKER,

" I Shall not now trouble you with large Nar-
" ratives, only give me leave to acquaint you,
" That as I marched from *Scotland* hither, I ob-
" ſerved the People in moſt Counties in great and
" earneſt expectations of a Settlement, and ſeveral
" Applications were made to me, with numerous
" Subſcriptions to them; the chiefeſt Heads of their
" Deſires were for a free and full *Parliament*, and
" that you would determine your ſitting, a Goſpel-
" Miniſtry, Encouragement of Learning and Univer-
" ſities, and for Admittance of the Members ſeclu-
" ded before the Year 1648, without any previous
" *Oath* or *Engagement*. To which I commonly an-
" ſwered, That you are now in a free Parliament;
" and if there be any Force remaining upon you, I
" would endeavour to remove it; and that you had
" Voted to fill up your Houſe, and then you would
" be a full Parliament alſo; and that you had al-
" ready determined your Sitting: And for the Mi-
" niſtry their Maintenance, the Laws, and Univer-
" ſities, you had largely declared concerning them
" in your laſt Declaration; and I was confident you
" would adhere to it: But as for thoſe Gentlemen
" ſecluded in the Year 1648, I told them you had
" given Judgement in it, and all People ought to
" acquieſce in that Judgement; but to admit any
" Members to ſit in Parliament without a previous
" Oath or Engagement, to preſerve the Govern-
" ment in being, it was never done in *England*.

" But although I ſaid it not to them, I muſt ſay,
" with Pardon, to you, That the leſs *Oaths* and
" *Engagements* are impoſed (with Reſpect had to the
" Security of the Common Cauſe) your Settlement

1659-60. " will be the ſooner attained to. I am the more
" particular in theſe Matters, to let you ſee how
" grateful your preſent Conſultations about theſe
" Things will be to the People. I know all the ſo-
" ber Gentry will cloſe with you, if they may be
" tenderly and gently uſed; and I am ſure you will
" ſo uſe them, as knowing it to be the common Con-
" cern, to amplifie, and not to leſſen our Intereſt,
" and to be careful that neither the Cavalier, nor
" Fanatick Party have *yet* a Share in your Civil or
" Military Power, of the laſt of whoſe impatience
" to Government, you have lately had ſo ſevere
" Experience. I ſhould ſay ſomething of *Ireland*
" and *Scotland*; indeed *Ireland* is in an unſettled Con-
" dition, and made worſe by your Interruptions,
" which prevented the paſſing an Act for the Settle-
" ment of the Eſtates of Adventurers and Soldiers
" there, which I heard you intended to have done
" in a few Days; and I preſume, it will be now
" quickly done, being ſo neceſſary at this Time,
" when the Wants of the Common-wealth call for
" Supplies; and People will unwillingly pay Taxes
" for thoſe Eſtates, of which they have no legal
" Aſſurance: I need not tell you how much you
" were abuſed in the Nomination of your Officers of
" your Armies there; their Malice that deceived
" you, hath been ſufficiently manifeſted: I do af-
" firm, That thoſe now that have declared for you
" will continue faithful, and thereby evince, that as
" well there as here, it is the ſober Intereſt muſt
" eſtabliſh your Dominion. As for *Scotland*,
" I muſt ſay, the People of that Nation deſerve to
" be cheriſhed; and I believe your late Declaration
" will much glad their Spirits; for nothing was to
" them more dreadful, than a Fear to be over-run
" with Fanatick Notions. I humbly recommend
" them to your Affection and Eſteem; and deſire
" the intended Union may be proſecuted, and their
" Taxes made proportionable to thoſe in *England*,
" for

" for which I am engaged by Promiſe to become a 1659-60.
" Suiter to you. And truly, Sir, I muſt ask leave
" to intreat you to make a ſpeedy Proviſion for the
" Civil Government there, of which they have been
" deſtitute near a Year, to the ruin of many Fami-
" lies: And except Commiſſioners for manageing of
" the Government, and Judges to ſit in Courts of
" Judicature, be ſpeedily appointed, that Country
" will be very miſerable.

" I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to preſent ſome
" Names to you, both for Commiſſioners and
" Judges; but by Reaſon of your great Affairs, he
" was not required to deliver them in Writing:
" But I humbly preſent them to your Conſidera-
" tion."

This Speech was not agreeable to the whole Houſe; ſome of the Members were of Opinion, that *Monk* had ſpoken too poſitively, and aſſumed too great an Authority; that he had affected a Popularity which laid him open to Suſpicion: That he had engaged for the Fidelity of the *Iriſh* Officers, which nevertheleſs was a diſputable Point: In ſhort, that in ſaying that the *Cavaliers* were not *yet* to have a Share in the Government, he gave that Party incouragement to hope a Time might come for their Admiſſion. Baker, p. 684.

Two Days after, the Parliament had Opportunity to put *Monk*'s Fidelity to the Trial, and to be aſſured whether or no he was ſo devoted to their Intereſt as he ſtudied to appear. The Common-Council of the City of *London*, in an Aſſembly held the 17th of *February*, came to a Reſolution to pay no more Taxes till the Parliament was filled. That Council knew *Monk*'s Deſign of reſtoring the Members drove from the Houſe in 1648, and doubtleſs, thought this Reſolution was proper to haſten it. They had nothing to fear from *Monk*, and well knew that the Parliament would not recall the Regiments

The City of London *refuſes the Payment of Taxes.* Baker, p. 684.

1659-60. giments which were at a Distance from *London*, to force the City to Obedience. Upon Advice received of this Determination, the Parliament ordered *Monk* to lead his Army into the City, apprehend eleven Members of the Common-Council, and bring away the Chains, Gates, and Portcullices. *Monk* obeyed the Order without any Objection or Delay. He assembled his Forces, entered the City, and arrested the eleven Members of the Common-Council. He then writ to the Parliament an Account how far he had proceeded in their Order, but at the same time prayed them to moderate the Rigour of the remaining Part of it. But the Parliament, whether in Animosity against the City, or for a farther tryal of *Monk*'s Fidelity, and perhaps to engage him in a Quarrel with the City, which might not easily be accommodated, insisted upon a punctual Compliance with their Order, and were instantly obeyed. After this he brought back his Troops to *Whitehall*, which disgusted the Parliament, expecting that he would not quit the City without an Order from them. The same, or following, Day, *Barebone*, before remembered on Occasion of *Oliver Cromwell*'s first Parliament, presented a Petition to the Parliament subscribed by a great Number of Hands, in which the Oath to Abjure *Charles Stuart* was required to be taken by all Persons without exception, and he had the Thanks of the House.

Monk ordered by the Parliament to chastise the City for its Insolence. Clarend. VI. p. 713. Baker, p. 684. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 84.

Barebone presents a Petition to require that the Abjuration Oath might be universally taken. Clarend. VI. p. 714. Baker, p. 685. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 84.

The Step lately taken by *Monk* astonished both his Friends and the City of *London*. The Magistrates of that City were enraged at the Treatment received from him, whom they now looked upon as a perfidious Man, who had amused them with Hopes of a Re-admission to the secluded Members, only to know their Sentiments touching that Affair, while he was absolutely devoted to the Interest of the Parliament. On the other Hand, his Friends represented to him as an irreparable Mistake, his imbroiling himself with the City of *London*, by whom he could only expect to be supported against the Parliament

Monk by the Remonstrances of his Friends comes to know his Errour in embroiling himself with the City.

ment bent upon his Ruin, notwithſtanding their fair Pretences. They told him that he had fallen into the Snare laid for him by this Commiſſion, which had loſt him the Confidence of the *Londoners*, and expoſed him to the Parliament's whole Deſigns againſt him; beſides, that without the Aſſiſtance of the City, he would never, with his handful of Troops, be able to execute the Deſign he had undertaken *. 1659-60.

Monk convinced, by theſe Reaſons, that he had puſhed his Diſſimulation too far, turned his whole Thoughts to repair his Errour, by an open Rupture with the Parliament, in order to regain the Confidence of the City Magiſtrates. He therefore, without loſs of Time, ſent *Clarges* his Confident to the *1 Lord-Mayor, to tell him that he was extremely Sorry for what he had done, and deſired a Conference with him, and the Common-Council, to make Reparation for his Errour. But *Clarges* could do nothing with the Lord-Mayor, who was perſwaded that *Monk* was a deceitful and treacherous Man, who only aimed to deceive him. Notwithſtanding all this *Monk* called his Forces together, bent to march once more into the City, and reconcile himſelf to the Magiſtrates, whatever might be the Conſequence. Before he ſet forward he ſent a Letter to the Parliament, writ with the Approbation of all his General-Officers, in which he complained, "That they gave too much Countenance to *Lam-* "*bert*, *Vane*, and ſeveral others that were attached "to the late *Committee of Safety*; and that they had

Reſolves to repair it. Baker, p. 685.

Brings back his Forces into the City. Clarend. VI. p. 636.

Writes a Letter to the Parliament, filled with Complaints and Reproaches, Feb. 11. Baker, p. 686.

* In *Skinner's* Life of *Monk*, 'tis ſaid, That the Orders to march the Army into the City, were not directed to *Monk* alone, but alſo to the other Commiſſioners, whereof *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley* were upon the Place, and, ever ſince his Arrival at *London*, had acted jointly with him; ſo that, had the General refuſed his Orders, the others might have done the Buſineſs without him, and conſequently, put it to the Hazard of removing him from the Command of his Army. But as he did not let his Friends know this Reaſon, the Action was variouſly cenſured, *p.* 237.

*1 Sir *Thomas Allen.*

"permitted

1659-60. " permitted *Ludlow* to ſit in their Houſe, though " he had been by Sir *Charles Coot*, and ſome of the " *Iriſh* Officers accuſed of *High-Treaſon*; and had " countenanced too much a late Petition to exclude " the moſt Sober and Conſcientious, both Mini- " ſters and others, by *Oaths*, from all Imploy- " ment and Maintenance; and in fine, peremptorily " demanded that by *Friday* next, they would iſſue " out Writs to fill up their Houſe; and when fill- " ed, ſhould riſe at an appointed time, to give " Place to a full and free Parliament."

Marches into the City. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 84.

This Letter made it evident to the Parliament, that *Monk* ſought Occaſion to quarrel, which, as it was not eaſy to avoid in this Conjuncture, they, by an Order (thought the beſt Expedient to mollifie him) voted him immediately the Thanks of the Houſe for his Care; and acquainted him, that they were upon Meaſures to ſatisfie his Requeſt without delay. At the ſame time *Scot* and *Robinſon* were diſpatched to him with this Reſolution. *Monk* had before this marched into the City, and, with great Difficulty, prevailed with the Mayor to call the Common-Council together that Afternoon. In the mean time the two Deputies of the Parliament, having waited on *Monk* with the Meſſage, came back but with little Satisfaction. He returned no other Anſwer, but that *all Things would be well, provided his Letter was complied with.* Upon this Anſwer, the Parliament voted the Command of the Army to be in the Hands of five Commiſſioners, *Monk* being one, but not of the *Quorum*, or one of the Three whoſe Preſence was neceſſary to give Orders.

The Parliament ſends Deputies to him to ſatisfy him. Baker, p. 685.

But with no Succeſs.

Paſſes an inſignificant Vote.

In this Interval, *Monk* repairing to the Common-Council, made a Speech, in which he teſtified his Concern for having accepted a Commiſſion, which had in the Execution, given ſo much Uneaſineſs to the City. That he was under a Neceſſity of accepting it, or throwing up his Employment. But he had judged it neceſſary to preſerve that for the Good of the City and of the whole Nation, whoſe Happineſs

Monk reconciles himſelf with the City Magiſtrates. Clarend. Vl. p 716. Baker, p. 684.

Happineſs and Advantage ſhould always be purſued by him, as far as lay in his Power. And to put his Sincerity out of all doubt, he communicated to the Council the Letter writ by him to the Parliament, and the Anſwer he had given to the Deputies. As theſe laſt Proofs were convincing, they were ſufficient to appeaſe the Council, and cauſe *Monk* to be looked upon as a Friend come to their Relief, notwithſtanding what had happened the Day before. 1659 60.

Great Rejoicings in the City. Baker, ib. Cook, Ch. 3. p 85.

When the News of this Reconciliation was ſpread through the City, the Bells were rung, Bone-fires made in all the Streets, and Numbers of *Rumps* thrown into them in Deriſion of the Parliament *. Some Days after the Council of State ſent to deſire *Monk* to come and aſſiſt at their Councils, for regulating the Affairs of the Nation: But to avoid expoſing himſelf to this Danger, he returned for Anſwer, that the Inhabitants of *London* were ſo diſſatisfied, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the City to keep them in Awe. On the other Side, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen conjured him to ſtay in the City, acquainting him, that the Parliament was ſecretly endeavouring to corrupt his Army, for which Purpoſe Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* had writ to ſeveral Perſons to engage them in the Deſign. Wherefore *Monk* took Care to avoid the Snare which was laid for him.

Monk being required by the Council of State to aſſiſt in their Deliberations, refuſes. Baker, p. 687.

Monk receives great Numbers of Petitions for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the excluded Members. Baker, p. 687.

After *Monk* had cloſely united himſelf with the City, Petitions came thick for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the ſecluded Members in 1648. It is very likely that he had his Emiſſaries diſperſed in ſeveral Quarters to incite the People to offer theſe Petitions, which were always favourably received by him, it being neceſſary for him to ſupport his Deſigns by the general Inclination of the People. He well knew what Uſe was to be made of a *Presbyterian*-Parliament, though many who ſigned the Petitions imagined

* This *Saturday* Night, *Feb.* 11. was called the *Roaſting of the Rump.*

1659 60. imagined that *Presbyterianism* was going to remount the Throne.

A Conference between the Members of the present Parliament, and the secluded ones of 1648, comes to nothing. Clarend. VI. p. 716. Baker, p. 687.

At last, on the 18th of *February*, *Monk* ordered it so, that some of the sitting Members had a Conference with some of the secluded, on the Subject of their Re-admission into Parliament. He could have wished that this might have been done by common Consent. But the Conference came to nothing, because the sitting Members could not, or would not undertake for the Parliament's accepting the Conditions which should be agreed on. They were for having this left to the Determination of the Parliament, who doubtless, would have found Means to draw the Negotiation out to a great length: But *Monk* saw himself indispensably obliged to bring it to a speedy conclusion, fearing that a Delay might produce an Accommodation between the Army and the Parliament. Such an Accommodation was so natural, in the Extremity to which the Affairs of the Parliament were brought, that it is astonishing that no Endeavours were used to procure it. However if if there were any, History is silent concerning them. Wherefore *Monk* desirous to improve so favourable a Conjuncture, resolved to introduce the secluded Members into the Parliament, in spight of those who were now sitting; but as the Army was to assist in executing this Resolution, he called his Officers together, to acquaint them with his Intentions. All consented on certain Conditions relating to their own Interests, which were positively promised. Then *Monk* made the secluded Members give their Word, that after their Re-establishment they would call a Free-Parliament, and dissolve the present *.

Monk's Reasons to press the conclusion of the Conference.

He resolves to restore by Force the secluded Members. Baker, p. 688.

These

* *Monk* made the secluded Members, before their Admission, to subscribe to these four Articles. 1. To settle the Conduct of the Armies in the three Nations so as might best secure the Peace of the Common wealth. 2. To provide for the Support of the Forces by Sea and Land. and Money also for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of the Government. 3. To constitute a Council of State for the Civil Government of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to issue

These Resolutions being taken, *Monk* repaired to *Whitehall* the 21st of *February*, attended by all the secluded Members; and after an Exhortation to them to take care of the Interests of the Nation, he gave them a Guard to conduct them to the Parliament, where they took their Places without any previous Notice given to the sitting Members. They were so much superiour in Number to the *Independents*, that the Heads of that Faction, after having some time looked upon one another, thought fit to withdraw and abandon their Cause.

1659-60. *The secluded Members resume their Places.* Feb. 21. 1659-60. Clarend. Baker, Cook. *The Independent Chiefs withdraw.* Baker, p. 689.

The same Day *Monk* writ a circular Letter to all the Regiments, to inform them of the Change lately made in the Parliament, to assure them of the Zeal of the restored Members for the Interests of the Army, and to desire their Opposition to all Attempts which might be made by disaffected Persons in favour of *Charles Stuart*. This last Clause was necessary to keep the Army in Temper, which was yet far from having any Thought or Desire of the King's Restoration. This Letter was signed by *Monk* himself and his General-Officers, and sent the same Day to the Colonels of the several Regiments.

Circular Letters sent by Monk *and his Officers to all the Regiments.* Ibid. 688.

This Parliament continued sitting but 25 Days, in which time several Steps were made, which clearly discovered that they were by no Means disinclined to the King. Some of their Proceedings shall here be laid together, that I may not be obliged to break the Thread of the Narration. 1. They annulled all Votes and Orders made by the Parliament since the 6th of *December* 1648, against the secluded Members. 2. They ordered a general Discharge of all the imprisoned Friends of the King, and amongst the rest of Sir *George Booth* *. 3. They voted *Monk* to be General of the Armies of the three Nations. 4. They repealed

Acts made by the Parliament during the remainder of its Session. Baker, p. 690, &c.

issue out *Writs* for the summoning a Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the 20th of *April*. 4. To consent to their own Dissolution, by a Time that should be limited to them. *Skinner*, p. 263.

* The Earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale*, and the Lord *Sinclare* were also released.

1659-60. repealed the Oath for the Abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, and all the Royal Family. 5. They voted down the old, and appointed a new Council of State compoſed of one and Thirty Members, moſt of them *Royaliſts*, and well-diſpoſed to ſerve the King *. 6. They made great Changes in the *Militia* of *London*, and the ſeveral Counties, and took away all Commiſſions granted by the *Republicans*. 7. They abrogated the Oath which obliged the Takers to be faithful to the eſtabliſhed Government without *a King, and Houſe of Peers*, by which the Lords, who were generally well-wiſhers to the King, were reſtored to their Right of conſtituting a ſeparate Houſe in Parliament.

The Parliament ſummons another, and diſſolves it ſelf, March 17. Laſtly, They diſſolved themſelves the 17th of *March*, after having iſſued out Writs for a free Parliament to meet the 25th of *April*, who were to reſtore the King, of which no doubt was now made. Nevertheleſs, as ſuch a Change could not pleaſe every Body after ſo long an Interruption of the exerciſe of Royal Power, the Parliament before their ſeparation, thought it ſtill neceſſary to amuſe the People, or at leaſt to leave room to doubt whether the King's Reſtoration was intended. Therefore a Vote paſſed that, Firſt, No Perſon ſhould be admitted to any Military Employ, before he had taken an Oath acknowledging the Juſtice of the Arms taken up againſt the late King *1. That Secondly, No Perſon who

Votes of the Parliament before its Separation to amuſe the Publick.

* To let the Reader ſee who were then the Leading Men, it may not be amiſs to inſert the Names of this Council, which *Rapin*, by Miſtake ſays, conſiſted of but 21 Members. General *Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Colonel *Roſſiter*, *Richard Knightley*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Lord Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Sir *John Temple*, Lord Commiſſioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelin*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Montague*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Colonel *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Anſley*, *Denzil Hollis*, Colonel *George Thomſon*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Colonel *John Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, *John Swinfin*, *John Weaver*, Serjeant *Maynard*.

*1 In the Act of the *Militia* of *London* was a Clauſe, that every Commiſſioner ſhall acknowledge and declare, *That the War undertaken*

who had bore Arms againſt the Parliament, ſhould be returned a Member for the enſuing Parliament. In all appearance theſe Reſolutions were only taken to prevent any Troubles which might ariſe from the Deſigns of the *Male-contents* in the Interval betwixt the two Parliaments. It is at leaſt certain, that the laſt Vote was ſet aſide in the new Elections for Repreſentatives, among whom were great Numbers of *Royaliſts*. As the acting contrary to this Vote could be queſtioned only by the next Parliament, no Body had any Thing to do to ſpeak againſt it, till the Parliament ſhould meet. 1689 60.

The Republicans endeavour to prevail with Monk *to take the Government upon himſelf.* Baker, p. 693. *But without Succeſs.*

But theſe illuſory Votes by no Means deceived the *Republicans*, who too well knew of the Reſolution taken to reſtore the King. To ward off therefore a Blow which could not but cruſh them entirely, they endeavoured to bring *Monk* into Meaſures of taking upon himſelf ſingly the Government, and ſupplying the Place of *Oliver Cromwell* *, rather wiſhing to have him their Governour or even Sovereign, than ſee themſelves expoſed to the King's Vengeance. *Monk* having reſolutely rejected this Offer, *Clarges* was next applyed to intreat his Interceſſion with the General to prevail with him to accept the Government. But *Clarges* diſcovered their Conſpiracy to the Council of State, who, if they had not been reſcued by *Monk*'s Interceſſion, would have puniſhed them with exemplary Rigour. Ibid.

An Engagement of ſome Officers preſented to Monk *to oblige him to abjure the King.*

This Attempt failing, they privately ſpirited up a good Number of Officers of their own Principles to draw up a Declaration, by which they engaged themſelves to ſupport the *Republican* Government. This Declaration was brought to the General to ſet his

dertaken by both Houſes of Parliament in their Defenſe againſt the Forces raiſed in the Name of the late King, was Juſt and Lawful, and that Magiſtracy and Miniſtry are the Ordinances of God. Whit. Mem. p. 699.

* Among the reſt, ſays *Skinner*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, (to preclude the King's Reſtoration) offered him one hundred Thouſand Hands that ſhould ſubſcribe his Title, *p.* 276.

Hand

1659-60. *He rejects it.* Baker, p. 694.

Hand to it, and they pretended to oblige the whole Army to subscribe it. But *Monk* excused himself, alledging, that this Precaution was needless after the Vote, before-mentioned, that no Adherent of the King should be elected to serve in the ensuing Parliament. But they laughed at this Evasion, well knowing that it belonged to the *House of Commons* to judge of the Qualifications of their Members. In short, as they continued to importune him, he forbad them with an Air of Authority, to assemble together without his Permission.

Forbids the Officers to assemble without leave from him.

Mazarin *endeavours to interest himself in the* English *Affairs, but without Success.* Ib. p. 695.

The Transactions of *England* being quickly carried to Cardinal *Mazarin*, it was not difficult for him to comprehend that *Monk* had some great Design in view. But as he could not judge whether that General was labouring for himself or the King, he ordered *Monsieur de Bourdeaux* the *French* Ambassadour at *London*, to make an Offer of his Friendship to *Monk*, and of every thing in his Power, let his Designs be what they would. Probably the Cardinal, who had always treated the King with Neglect, and was but little, if at all desirous of his Restoration, would not have been sorry that *Monk* had declared for himself. But in case his Aim was to restore the King, the Cardinal was willing to have some Share in it, in order to make some Reparation for the harsh Usage the King, on sundry Occasions, had met with from him. The Ambassadour applying himself to *Clarges*, intimated to him that the Cardinal was ready to serve the General in his Undertaking, whatever it was, and therefore desired a Conference with him. But though *Monk* would not absolutely refuse a Visit from the Ambassador, he nevertheless ordered *Clarges* to acquaint him, that it would, by no Means, be proper to enter into any Particulars with relation to the *English* Affairs, and so the Visit passed in general Compliments.

Sir John Greenvil *dispatched to* Monk *from the King.* Clarend. VI. p. 741. Baker, p. 695.

The Day after the Dissolution of the Parliament, Sir *John Greenvil*, sent by the King to General *Monk*, was introduced to him in the Night. He let him know

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Monk *anſwers his Meſſage.*

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1659-60. *He rejects it.* Baker, p. 694.

Hand to it, and they pretended to oblige the whole Army to subscribe it. But *Monk* excused himself, alledging, that this Precaution was needless after the Vote, before-mentioned, that no Adherent of the King should be elected to serve in the ensuing Parliament. But they laughed at this Evasion, well knowing that it belonged to the *House of Commons* to judge of the Qualifications of their Members. In short, as they continued to importune him, he forbad them with an Air of Authority, to assemble together without his Permission.

Forbids the Officers to assemble without leave from him.

Mazarin *endeavours to interest himself in the* English *Affairs, but without Success.* Ib. p. 695.

The Transactions of *England* being quickly carried to Cardinal *Mazarin*, it was not difficult for him to comprehend that *Monk* had some great Design in view. But as he could not judge whether that General was labouring for himself or the King, he ordered *Monsieur de Bourdeaux* the *French* Ambassadour at *London*, to make an Offer of his Friendship to *Monk*, and of every thing in his Power, let his Designs be what they would. Probably the Cardinal, who had always treated the King with Neglect, and was but little, if at all desirous of his Restoration, would not have been sorry that *Monk* had declared for himself. But in case his Aim was to restore the King, the Cardinal was willing to have some Share in it, in order to make some Reparation for the harsh Usage the King, on sundry Occasions, had met with from him. The Ambassadour applying himself to *Clarges*, intimated to him that the Cardinal was ready to serve the General in his Undertaking, whatever it was, and therefore desired a Conference with him. But though *Monk* would not absolutely refuse a Visit from the Ambassador, he nevertheless ordered *Clarges* to acquaint him, that it would, by no Means, be proper to enter into any Particulars with relation to the *English* Affairs, and so the Visit passed in general Compliments.

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1659-60. out from *Brussels*, if we may believe the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Monk cashiers several Officers, and substitutes others more faithful in their Places. Baker, p. 697.

Mean while *Monk* suffered not the Time to pass unprofitably, which remained till the Opening of the Parliament. He cashiered, under divers Pretences, the Army-Officers who were most suspected by him, and filled their Places with others in whom he could repose an entire Confidence. Moreover some Officers, by his Direction, drew up an *Engagement* in form of an Address to the General, by which they promised an unreserved Obedience to the Orders of the Parliament, when it should meet. This *Engagement* was presented to *Monk*, and had his Approbation and Order to all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* to subscribe it. This gave him a Colour to deprive of their Employments all such as refused to sign this *Engagement*.

1660. Lambert *escapes out of the* Tower, *and puts himself at the Head of some Troops.* Clarend. VI. p. 726. Baker, p. 698. Cook, Ch. 3. p. 86.

While the Hopes of the King and his Party were daily gathering Strength, an Accident fell out which might have been attended with ill Consequences, had it not met with a timely Remedy. This Accident was the Escape of *Lambert* out of the *Tower*, and his putting himself at the Head of some Troops. As he had a great Reputation in the Army, there was Danger that all the *Republicans*, then very numerous, would declare for him. *Monk* therefore lost not one Moment to prevent the Danger before it spread farther. *Lambert* having assembled some discontented Troops at *Daventry*, *Ingoldsby* was immediately sent against him, with *Monk*'s own Regiment, and ordered to take some other Troops in his Way and give him immediate Battle. This great Expedition decided the Business. As *Lambert* had not yet had time to draw together any considerable Body of Troops, *Ingoldsby* met him the 22d of *February*, thirteen Days after he had made his Escape, defeated and sent him Prisoner to the *Tower*. Thus the Fear which *Lambert*'s Escape had given to the King's Party was entirely dissipated.

Is defeated, and made Prisoner by Ingoldsby.

Two

1660.

Two Days before the Parliament met, the *Republicans* made another Attempt to prevent the King's Reſtoration, by diſperſing a forged Letter dated at *Bruſſels*, in which it was ſaid, that the King only waited for his Reſtoration, to take a cruel Revenge upon all who had ever been his Enemies. It was farther added, that his Party was preparing to put them all to the Sword. This forged Letter beginning to do Miſchief, the Lords, and others of the King's Party publiſhed a Declaration ſigned by Seventy of them, in which they diſavowed all the wicked Intentions aſcribed to them in this Letter, and proteſted that their Deſire was to live peaceably, without one thought of Revenge againſt the Authors of their Sufferings.

A forged Letter diſperſed to prevent the King's Reſtoration. Baker, p. 699.

The King's Party declare againſt it. Clarend. Baker.

The new Parliament met the 25th of *April*, in two Houſes; the one of *Lords*, and the other of *Commons*, agreeably to the antient Conſtitution. In the *Houſe of Lords* the King had a great Majority of Friends. In that of the *Commons* it was found that a great Number of *Royaliſts* had been elected, notwithſtanding the Vote before ſpoken of. Some *Presbyterians*, who were not in the Secret, had a mind to complain, and moved for an Examination of the Elections, but were not heard. The greateſt Part of the *Presbyterian* Members were no leſs Zealous than the *Royaliſts* for the King's Reſtoration, deſired by all, not perhaps ſo much out of Affection to him, as to deliver the Kingdom from the Dominion of the *Independents* and *Fanaticks*, and the Tyranny of the Army which had laſted twelve Years.

The Parliament meets the 25th of April. Clarend. Vl. p. 755. Baker, p. 701.

Two Days after the Opening of the Parliament *, *Greenvill*, returned from *Bruſſels*, waited on *Monk* with a Commiſſion from the King, conſtituting him General of all the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and at the ſame time produced a Letter from his Majeſty to be communicated to the Council of State, and the

The King ſends a Commiſſion to Monk *to make him General.* Baker, p. 701.

* The Earl of *Mancheſter* was choſen Speaker for the *Lords*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* for the *Commons*.

1660. Officers of the Army. But *Monk* excuſed himſelf from opening the Letter, till he had received a Permiſſion from the Parliament. In the mean time, the *Commons* having adjourned themſelves for two or three Days, *Greenvill* applied himſelf to the *Lords*, and preſented to them a Letter from the King, with a Declaration dated the 14th of *April*.

Greenvill preſents a Letter, and a Declaration to the Lords from the King. The Subſtance of it.

In the Letter the King told the *Lords*, that being informed of their Re-eſtabliſhment in the Rights to which they were born, he hoped they would make a good Uſe of them for the publick Welfare, for putting an end to the Troubles of the Kingdom, reſtoring himſelf to his juſt Prerogatives, the Parliament to its Priviledges, and the People to their Liberties. As for the Declaration, it will be neceſſary to inſert it here at length.

CHARLES R.

The King's Declaration. Baker, p. 702. Clarend. Vl. p. 746.

" CHarles by the Grace of God, King of *Eng-*
" *land, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender
" of the Faith, *&c.* To all our Loving Subjects
" of what Degree or Quality ſoever, Greeting. If
" the general Diſtraction and Confuſion which is
" ſpread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awa-
" ken all Men to a Deſire and Longing, that thoſe
" Wounds which have ſo many Years together been
" kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can
" ſay will be to no Purpoſe: However, after this
" long Silence, We have thought it our Duty to
" declare how much We deſire to contribute there-
" unto: And that as We can never give over the
" Hope in good time to obtain the Poſſeſſion of that
" Right which God and Nature hath made Our
" due; ſo we do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine*
" *Providence*, that he will, in Compaſſion to Us and
" our Subjects, after ſo long Miſery and Sufferings,
" remit, and put Us into a quiet and peaceable Poſ-
" ſeſſion of that our Right, with as little Blood and
" Damage to Our People as is poſſible; Nor do
" We

" We deſire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that 1660.
" all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is
" theirs, by a full and entire Adminiſtration of Juſ-
" tice throughout the Land, and by extending Our
" Mercy where it is wanted and deſerved.

" And to the end that Fear of Puniſhment may not
" engage any conſcious to themſelves of what is
" paſt, to a Perſeverance in Guilt for the future,
" by oppoſing the Quiet and Happineſs of their
" Country in the Reſtoration both of *King*, *Peers*,
" and People, to their Juſt, Antient, and Funda-
" tal Rights; We do by theſe Preſents declare,
" That We do grant a *Free and General Pardon*,
" which We are ready, upon demand, to paſs un-
" der Our Great-Seal of *England*, to all Our Sub-
" jects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who with-
" in forty Days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall
" lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and
" ſhall by any publick Act declare their doing ſo,
" and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedi-
" ence of good Subjects, excepting only ſuch Per-
" ſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament*:
" Thoſe only excepted, Let all Our Subjects, how
" faulty ſoever, rely upon the Word of a King,
" ſolemnly given by this preſent Declaration, That
" no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us, or
" Our Royal Father before the Publication of this,
" ſhall ever riſe in Judgement, or be brought into
" Queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt Enda-
" magement of them either in their Lives, Liber-
" ties, or Eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our Pow-
" er) ſo much as to the Prejudice of their Reputations,
" by any Reproach, or Terms of Diſtinction from
" the reſt of Our beſt Subjects; We deſiring and
" ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Diſ-
" cord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be
" utterly aboliſhed among all Our Subjects, whom
" We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among
" themſelves, under our Protection, for the Re-
" ſettlement of Our Juſt Rights and Theirs, in a

1660. "*Free Parliament*, by which upon the Word of a "King We will be adviſed.

"And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs "of the Times have produced ſeveral Opinions in "Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties "and Animoſities againſt each other, which, when "they ſhall hereafter unite in a freedom of Conver- "ſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; "We do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences; "and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in "Queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of "Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the "Kingdom, and that We ſhall be ready to con- "ſent to ſuch an *Act of Parliament*, as upon mature "Deliberation ſhall be offered to Us, for the full "granting that Indulgence.

"And becauſe in the continued Diſtractions of ſo "many Years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, "many Grants and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been "made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and o- "thers, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and "who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon ſeve- "ral Titles; We are likewiſe willing that all ſuch "Differences and Things relating to the ſaid Grants, "Sales and Purchaſes, ſhall be determined in *Par- "liament*, which can beſt provide for the juſt Satis- "faction of all Men who are concerned.

"And We do further declare, that We will be rea- "dy to conſent to any *Act* or *Acts of Parliament*, to "the Purpoſes aforeſaid, And for the full Satisfaction "of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of "the Army under the Command of General *Monk*, "and that they ſhall be received into our Service "upon as good Pay and Conditions as they now "enjoy."

Vote of the Lords in favour of the King. Baker, p. 703.

Immediately after the reading of this Declaration, the Lords voted, *That according to the antient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.*

After

After that, Sir *John Greenvill* came to the Houſe of *Commons*, and preſented a Letter to them from his Majeſty, with the ſame Declaration incloſed, which was read, as well as the Letter that was directed to General *Monk* to be communicated to the Council and the Army. Theſe Papers, which, three Months before, would have been ſuffered to lie on the Table without any Notice taken of them, were now deemed convincing Proofs of the King's good Intentions, and Reaſons ſufficient to reſtore him to the Exerciſe of Royal Power, with no other Conditions but what himſelf ſhould be pleaſed to grant. The *Commons* therefore readily concurred to the Vote of the Lords; and thus the King ſaw himſelf reſtored without any of the Conditions which had coſt ſo long a War, and ſo great an Effuſion of Blood. This is a clear Evidence either that the *Royaliſts* were very much ſuperiour in Number in the Houſe, which nevertheleſs is not very probable, or that the *Presbyterians* were willing to deſiſt from Conditions which they had once ſo zealouſly demanded, for other Terms relating to their Religion, which had been promiſed; but which, as they were never performed, gave too juſt Ground for Complaint afterwards.

1660. *The Commons receive a Letter from the King, with the Declaration.*

The Commons concur with the Lords, and the King is reſtored without any Conditions.

The King being effectually recognized, by the Vote of both Houſes, the *Commons* voted a Preſent of fifty Thouſand Pounds to him, another of ten Thouſand to the Duke of *York*, and a third of five Thouſand to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Sums ſo large had never before been in the diſpoſal of theſe Princes *.

Preſents made by the Commons to the King, Duke of York, *and Duke of* Glouceſter.

Then the *Commons* ordered that all the Journals ſhould be ſearched, and thoſe Acts and Orders razed out which were inconſiſtent with the Government of *King*, *Lords* and *Commons*. The Army, the Navy, and the City of *London* prepared Addreſſes to congratu-

Baker, p. 705.

Baker, p. 706.

Clarend. VI.

* The City of *London* ſent alſo to the King and his Brothers twelve Thouſand Pounds. *Coke's Det.* II. p. 102.

1660. late his Majesty on his Restoration, and to promise a perfect Obedience to him, and these Addresses were delivered to *Clarges*, who undertook to carry them to the King. The 8th of *May* the King was proclaimed in *London* with great Solemnity, and Deputies from the Parliament and City departed on the 11th to wait on the King, who expected them at the *Hague*. Some *Presbyterian* Ministers likewise repaired thither, as well to imprint on the King a Sense of the Service lately done him by their Sect, as to sound his Inclinations with regard to the Liberty, which they had probably stipulated, before they engaged in the Affair of his Restoration. The King confirmed by Word of Mouth what he had promised by his Declaration. But when they insinuated to him, that he ought to suppress the Use of the *Common-Prayer* in his Chapel, and the wearing of the Surplice, he warmly answered, *That whilst he gave them Liberty, he would not have his own taken from him.*

The King proclaimed May 8. Baker, p. 708.

Deputies from the Parliament and City to the King. Baker, p. 707. Clarend. p. 768.

Conference between some Presbyterian *Ministers and the King.* Ibid.

After the King had given Audience to the Deputies of the Parliament the 16th of *May*, and received the Homage of Admiral *Montague*, and the other Officers of the Navy, who waited on him at *Scheveling*, he stayed some Days at the *Hague*, as well to prepare for his Departure, as to receive the Compliments of the *States*. He took Shipping the 23d of *May*, arrived at *Dover* the 26th, and the same Day at *Canterbury*, where, the following Day, he honoured *Monk* with the Order of the *Garter*. The 29th, the Day of his Birth, he arrived at *Whitehall*, through infinite Crowds of People, all testifying by the loudest Acclamations, their Joy in his Restoration *.

The King gives Audience to the Deputies from the Parliament May 16.

Arrives at Whitehall, *May* 29. Baker, p. 710, 711.

* *Burnet* observes in the History of his own Times, that such Unanimity appeared in the Proceedings of the Parliament for the King's Restoration, that there was not the least Dispute among them, but upon one single Point; yet that was a very Important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief-Justice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the Propositions that had been made, and the Concessions that had been offered by the late

late King, and from thence digeſt ſuch Propoſitions, as they ſhould think fit, to be ſent over to the King. This was ſeconded, but by whom the Biſhop forgot. As ſuch a Motion was foreſeen, *Monk* was inſtructed how to anſwer it; he told the Houſe, that he had Information of ſuch Numbers of Incendiaries ſtill in the Kingdom, that if any Delay was put to the ſending for the King, he could not anſwer for the Peace either of the Nation or Army. And as the King was to bring neither Army nor Treaſure with him, either to fright or corrupt them, Propoſitions might be as well offered to him when he ſhould come over; ſo moved for ſending Commiſſioners immediately. This was echoed with ſuch a Shout over the Houſe, that the Motion was no more inſiſted on. And this, ſays *Burnet*, was indeed the great Service *Monk* did. To the King's coming in without Conditions may be well imputed all the Errours of his Reign, and, it may be added, many Miſchiefs that followed afterwards. 1660.

THE

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XXIII. SECT. I.

26. CHARLES II.

1660. *Hopes of the ſeveral Factions on the King's Arrival.*

ON the Arrival of the King, there was an entirely new Scene of Things in *England:* Joy, Pleaſures, publick and private Rejoicings ſucceeded to Trouble, Fear, and Conſternation. The People were ſo tired with the manner of Life they had led for the laſt twenty Years, that they were of Opinion nothing worſe could ſucceed it. Every Man rejoiced in ſeeing a Calm coming after ſo long a Storm, and expected to enjoy a Tranquillity which had been ſought in vain through the Courſe of ſo many Years. The *Royaliſts* and *Epiſcopalians* ſaw themſelves raiſed at once to the height of their Wiſhes, in beholding *Charles* II, placed upon the Throne of his Anceſtors, and the Church of *England* in a Way to reſume her former Luſtre. The *Presbyterians* flattered themſelves that their late Services for the King, would, at the leaſt, obtain for them an entire Liberty of Conſci-

ence, and the free Exercise of their Religion. The *Republicans*, *Independents*, *Anabaptists* could not, indeed, hope to see themselves restored to the State they had been in for so many Years; but they, at least, expected an entire Impunity, agreeably to the *Breda* Declaration. The Regicides, that is, the late King's Judges, were the only Persons that could not but expect the Punishment they justly deserved, and yet even they were not without Hopes from the King's Clemency, as indeed, such of them as cast themselves upon it, were not wholly deceived in their Hopes. We are not therefore to be surprized that the whole Kingdom should echo with Shouts of Joy, and unite in receiving with loud Acclamations a King, who, according to the general Expectation, was to restore the Publick Tranquillity and Happiness, and put all Things in their natural Order. 1660.

Extreme pre-possession in favour of the King.

Charles II, at the Time of his Restoration, was thirty Years of Age, and but little known to the greatest Part of his Subjects, as his Life had been led out of his Dominions. His Actions in the *West*, where he commanded for the King his Father, had been distinguished by no advantagious Events. His Conduct in *Scotland*, when he was called to the Crown of that Kingdom, had, by no Means, redounded to his Honour, since in his Declaration published there, he had not scrupled to sacrifice the King his Father to his own private Advantage. In short, the Battle of *Worcester* had acquired him no Reputation, in which some pretend he had been too careful of his Person, though others speak of his Valour on that Occasion with great Elogies. However this be, he was defeated, and that did not in the least contribute to raise his Fame as a General. Nevertheless his Friends, in their Views and Endeavours for his Restoration, had published such extravagant Encomiums of him, and with such Assurance, that before his Arrival in *England*, he passed there for an accomplished Prince, endowed with all the

1660. the Virtues and Noble Qualities that go to the forming of a Heroe. This Prepoſſeſſion did more Miſchief to *England*, than all the Calumnies thrown upon the laſt King. For this equally diſpoſed almoſt every Body to put an entire Confidence in the new King, who, from the general Character and Opinion of him, was thought incapable to abuſe it *. It was hoped that he would be content with reſtoring the Government upon the Foot it ſtood under Queen *Elizabeth*, and avoid treading in the Steps of his Grand-Father and Father, without attempting to extend his Prerogative. They flattered themſelves ſo much the more with this Hope, as it was not doubted but that the Example of the King his Father had made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon his Mind. It will be ſeen hereafter to what Exceſs this Confidence was carried, and what Uſe *Charles* made of it to lay the Foundation of the Ruin of the Liberty and Religion of the *Engliſh*; a Work which his Succeſſor *James* II. had certainly accompliſhed, had not God, by a Revolution the moſt wonderful, blaſted his Deſigns, when he thought himſelf moſt ſecure of Succeſs. This Project, to render the King abſolute by joint and equal Endeavours of *Catholicks* and *Proteſtants*, begun by *James* I, vigorouſly puſhed by *Charles* I, interrupted by the Troubles of twenty Years, was eagerly reſumed under the Reign of *Charles* II. If this be not laid down as the Baſis of the Events of this Reign, I am at a loſs how to account for the Conduct of King

Deſign to render the King abſolute.

* When the Earl of *Southampton* came to ſee what *Charles* II, was like to prove, he ſaid once, in great Wrath, to Chancellor *Hyde*, that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them, in all his Letters, with ſuch an Opinion of the King, they would have taken Care to have put it out of his Power either to do himſelf or them any Miſchief. *Hyde* anſwered, He thought the King had ſo true a Judgement, and ſo good Nature, that when the Age of Pleaſure ſhould be over, and the Idleneſs of his Exile turned to an Obligation to mind Affairs, that he would have ſhaken off theſe Intanglements. *Burn.* p. 89.

King *Charles* II, unleſs I could perſwade my ſelf that he acted meerly by Caprice without Principles, Maxims, or any manner of Deſign; but this is not to be imagined of ſuch a Prince, who had as much Wit and Senſe as any Prince in *Europe*. But it is not yet time to enter into theſe Particulars, eſpecially as it is uncertain whether it was formed in the Beginning of this Reign, or owing to ſome following favourable Conjunctures. At leaſt the Conduct of *Charles* immediately after his Reſtoration, gives no Suſpicion of his having then entertained the Thought of it. 1660.

The King's Religion.

I have already ſaid, that *Charles* had embraced the *Catholick* Religion before his Return into *England*. Some have ſaid that he abjured the *Proteſtant* Religion in Preſence of the Cardinal *de Retz*, before he left *France* for the laſt time. Others pretend, that he made not this Abjuration till the Year 1659, in his Journey to *Fontarabia*, with the View to effect his Reſtoration, by the joint Endeavours of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. However this be, this Secret, known only to the Earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, was ſo well concealed, that the Publick knew nothing of it till after the Death of the King, when his Succeſſor *James* II, was pleaſed to divulge it. But at this time of Day, it is a Thing of which the World has no room to doubt. It may be aſſured, that his embracing the *Catholick* Religion was not from any Principle of Conſcience, ſince, in the whole Courſe of his Life, he ſhewed an Indifference for all Religions. The greateſt Compliment which a famous Author thinks fit to pay him is, by ſaying, that at the moſt he was only a *Deiſt*. This is confirmed by the Character given of him by the Earl of *Mulgrave*, who is by no Means to be ſuſpected of a Deſign to ſlander him. His Sentiments of Religion in general may be judged of by what Dr. *Burnet* ſays of him in the Hiſtory of his own Times, which is, that he made no manner of Scruple to communicate the ſame Day in two different Chapels, publickly in the *Proteſtant*,

Burnet.

Earl of Mulgrave *in his Character of* Charles II.

1660. *teſtant*, and privately in the *Popiſh*. Notwithſtanding all this, he never ſlipped an Occaſion of boaſting, in his Speeches to the Parliament, his Attachment to the *Proteſtant* Religion, and his Zeal for its Advancement. Such Behaviour, ſo unworthy of a Chriſtian, cannot fail of leaving a Stain upon his Memory. Wherefore thoſe, who have been moſt deſirous to palliate his Failings, have not been able to deny that he was a Maſter in Diſſimulation, and puſhed it to exceſs.

King Charles's governing Maxim. Burnet, p. 94.

He had, beſides this, a Maxim not at all leſs dangerous than his Diſſimulation. This was, that in his Opinion, there was no ſuch Thing as Honour or Virtue in the World; but that the Actions of all Mankind were meerly governed by their Intereſt. He therefore, indeed, loved no Perſon, in the Belief that his Favourites and Courtiers had only their own Intereſts in view in their Services paid to him. He had an extreme Affability, and a Converſation ſo eaſy and obliging, that he ſeemed to have a Pleaſure in doing Good to the whole World, by the Manner in which he received the Requeſts that were made to him. But he loſt at laſt the Eſteem and Affections of his Subjects, who had almoſt adored him in the Beginning of his Reign, becauſe they diſcovered that his Promiſes were only Words of Courſe, unaccompanied with any Sincerity.

His Faults.

He was ſo abandoned to his Pleaſures that, in the Seaſon of Life, when his Mind was moſt capable of Buſineſs, when his Judgement was clear, and his Penetration lively, it was with Difficulty that his Miniſters prevailed with him to ſuſpend his Pleaſures for ſome Hours, and beſtow a neceſſary Application to important Affairs. But this muſt be ſaid for him, that when he would apply to Buſineſs, he diſpatched more in one Day, than his Miniſters in ſeveral.

As his Miſtreſſes devoured his whole Time, they likewiſe conſumed all his Treaſures. His Revenues, larger than thoſe of any of his Predeceſſors, except *Henry* VIII, and the extraordinary Supplies often granted

granted by his Parliament, could not keep him from continual Want, becauſe he gave his Money as faſt as he received it, without Meaſure or Diſcretion. This threw him upon his Parliament; and to keep fair with the *Commons*, he was obliged to make frequent Promiſes, which he never intended to perform. 1660.

His good Qualities.

Theſe were the principal Faults with which King *Charles* was reproached. But, on the other Hand, it cannot be denied that he had many good Qualities, which might have been accompanied with happy Effects, had he made a better Uſe of them. His Wit was lively, his Conception ready, and his Judgement exquiſite. He knew the Intereſts of the *European* Princes, better than any of his Miniſters. He had applied himſelf in the Time of his Exile to the ſtudy of *Phyſick* and the *Mathematicks*, and more particularly to Navigation, and the building of Ships, in which he had made conſiderable Improvement. With theſe Qualities he might very eaſily have governed his Dominions in a manner glorious to himſelf, and advantagious to his Subjects, and made himſelf Arbiter of *Europe*. And yet it may be ſaid, that his Reign was attended neither with Glory to himſelf, nor Happineſs to his Subjects. The Reaſon of this was, that becauſe of his Attachment to his Pleaſures, and his natural Lazineſs, he delivered up himſelf entirely to the Counſels of his Miniſters; and particularly of his Brother the Duke of *York*, who, during this whole Reign, had but too great an Influence upon the Reſolutions taken in his Council, into which he found a Way to introduce ſuch Men as he believed proper for the Execution of his Deſign, both with regard to Church and State. The Duke of *York* was naturally of a Temper more active, violent, haughty, and vindictive; he had formed the Deſign of raiſing the Royal Authority to a great height, and at the ſame time of reſtoring the *Catholick* Religion in *England*. He never, through this whole Reign, left off the purſuit of theſe Deſigns; but

Duke of York's Character.

1660. but more especially after he was in a manner sure that the King his Brother had no longer any Hopes of leaving behind him a legitimate Offspring. All the principal Events of this Reign depending properly upon the Humour and Character of these two Princes, I have judged it necessary to make the Reader acquainted with both, before I proceed to any other Particulars.

Great Licentiousness in England. The King was received into *London* with great Acclamations, and it then began to be perceived, that, under colour of publick Rejoicings for the King's Restoration, the *English* were throwing themselves into Dissoluteness, which would not have been endured under the Rule of the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, but which daily increased through this whole Reign, by the ill Examples of the King and the Court.

The King forms his Council. The King's first Business was to establish a Council, composed chiefly of those who had shewn the greatest Zeal and Affection for himself or the King his Father. He nevertheless received some Men into it, who, one would have thought, should have been kept at a distance from it *. This was the Effect of his Policy: For it was obvious, from his first Entrance upon the Government, that his principal Aim was to lay asleep the former Troubles, which could not be better done, than by securing a perfect Reliance and Confidence in his Promises, published in his *Breda* Declaration. His Intention was to draw a Vail, as much as was possible, over the Hatreds and Animosities which had so long divided his Subjects, and to unite them all in an Obedience to the Laws, and

* There were Thirty in all. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, Sir *Edward Hyde*, General *Monk*, Admiral *Montague* [Earl of *Sandwich*] the Marques of *Ormond*, the Marques of *Dorchester*, *the* Marques of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, *Lindsey*, *Berkshire*, *Norwich*, *Manchester*, *Northumberland*, St. *Albans*, and *Leicester*, Viscount *Say*, the Lords *Wentworth*, *Seymour*, *Colepepper*, and *Roberts*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *George Carteret*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Colonel *Howard*, *Arthur Annesley*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*.

and a ſincere attachment to his Perſon as their proper and true Center. He laboured for ſome time with Zeal in this Deſign, even, as I ſaid, to the receiving into his Council Men who had profeſſed themſelves in the Number of his greateſt Enemies. In this he imitated the Conduct of his Grandfather *Henry* IV, of *France*; but, as will be ſeen hereafter, he was not long ſuffered to walk in this Path. 1660.

Chancellor Hyde his firſt Miniſter.

Edward Hyde Lord-High-Chancellor, and ſoon after created Earl of *Clarendon*, was from the firſt the King's Prime Miniſter, on whom, with great Reaſon, he relied with entire Confidence. But, as is very viſible from his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, he was a mortal Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, and, by Conſequence, little proper to preſerve the King in his Reſolution of procuring Tranquillity indifferently to all his Subjects.

The Parliament called a Convention.

After the King was arrived in *England*, the Aſſembly, which from the 25th of *April* had been honoured with the Name of a Parliament, was no longer known by any other Appellation than that of a Convention, the King being unwilling to own for a Parliament, an Aſſembly which had not been conveened by his Writs. But this Change of Name was of no long continuance. Two Days after his Arrival, the King went to the Houſe of *Lords*, where he ſent for the *Commons*, and gave his Conſent to three Acts; the firſt to change the Convention into a Parliament; the ſecond to continue the Monthly Tax of ſeventy Thouſand Pounds for three Months longer, and the third to continue all Judiciary Proceedings.

Acts paſſed by it.

The Parliament chiefly compoſed of Presbyterians.

Had the Directions and Orders given for aſſembling this Parliament been complied with, no Member could have ſate in it, who had either ſerved the laſt or preſent King. But this Order having been neglected in the Elections, all were admitted without Diſtinction, or Examination who had been elected. As the Scheme for the King's Reſtoration was already formed, when this Parliament met, the *Presbyterians*

1660. *rians*, who were much ſuperiour in Number, did not think proper to exclude the *Royaliſts* with whom they were in perfect Agreement for reſtoring the King. Neither was it likewiſe thought convenient to exclude *Republicans*, nor even the *Regicides* themſelves, who were not Conſiderable enough to give any hindrance to the Deſign which was laid. This Parliament is therefore to be looked upon as an Aſſembly where the *Presbyterians* had certainly a ſuperiority of Voices: Conſequently a *Presbyterian Parliament* reſtored the King to the Throne of his Anceſtors, and during their ſhort Continuance, gave him effectual Marks of their Zeal for his Service, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace and Tranquillity throughout the Kingdom *.

Principal Affairs of the Parliament.

The Affairs of Parliament, after the King's Arrival, conſiſted in three principal Articles. The firſt was an *Act* of *Pardon* or *Indemnity* for whatever had paſſed ſince the Beginning of the Troubles. This *Act* was abſolutely neceſſary to give Safety and Repoſe to ſo many Perſons, or Deſcendants of Perſons who had a Share in theſe Troubles, and might have been moleſted, if the Laws had been ſtrictly executed. For as from the Year 1642, the King's Party had been deemed Rebels by thoſe who were then uppermoſt; the King now coming to rule in his Turn, might have declared Rebels all who had been in Arms either againſt him or his Father. The Queſtion of Right with relation to the War between the King and the Parliament remaining yet undecided, it was natural for him who had the Power in his Hands, to explain the Laws in Favour of himſelf. But on the other Hand, it was to be feared that a Rigour ſhewn on this Occaſion might kindle a new Flame. Beſides, it was very Difficult to explain in an

An Act of Indemnity.

* *Burnet* ſays, theſe five following Perſons, all *Presbyterians*, had the chief Hand in the Reſtoration; Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper* afterwards Earl of *Shafisbury*, Sir *Arthur Anneſly* afterwards Earl of *Angleſey*, *Denzil Hollis* created Lord *Hollis* of *Iſield*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Lord *Roberts*, p. 96.

an exact and preciſe manner, what were the Bounds and Limits of the Rights claimed by either the King or his Subjects, conſidering the Arguments on both Sides, and the infinite Cavils to which ſuch a Diſcuſſion was liable. In a Word, Explications of this Nature had given Riſe to the Troubles, which, if it was poſſible, were now intended to be buried in eternal Oblivion. To cool therefore Men's heated Spirits, and give them a mutual Confidence and Security, the beſt Expedient that could be thought on was to paſs an *Act of Indemnity* for every Thing which had happened during the Troubles. 1660.

The Army.

The ſecond Affair which the Parliament had upon their Hands, was to put the King in a Capacity to disband the Army. There was not one ſingle Reaſon for keeping on foot an Army which had been the principal Cauſe of the Diſorders committed of late Years, and which might ſtill have diſturbed the Peace of the Kingdom under an able Leader.

The King's Revenues.

The third Affair was the ſettling the King's Revenue, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to enable him to ſupport the Government, and put him in a Condition to be courted and feared. On theſe three important Affairs the Parliament beſtowed their firſt Care, and began with the firſt as the more urgent. For this Purpoſe the *Houſe of Commons* ſolemnly declared, in an Addreſs preſented to the King by the whole Houſe, that they accepted, in their own Name, and in the Name of all the *Commons* of *England*, the Gracious Pardon offered by his Majeſty in his Declaration from *Breda*, with Reſtrictions to ſuch Perſons as ſhould be thought proper to be excepted in an *Act of Grace*. The Lords likewiſe preſented a Petition of the like Import.

The Commons accept the Pardon promiſed by the King.

ſo do the Lords.

Proclamation in Favour of the King's Judges.

Immediately after the King publiſhed a Proclamation, by which he declared, That all thoſe who ſat in Judgement upon the late King, and did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen Days, ſhould be abſolutely excluded from all Benefit of the *Act* of *Indemnity*. Though the Words of this Proclamation

1660. did by no Means assure those who surrendered themselves of their Lives, it was nevertheless understood that the King made use of this Artifice, only to have it believed that he intended not to limit the Power and Resolutions of the Parliament upon this Matter, and it was not doubted but that the two Houses looked upon this Proclamation as a Sort of Pardon, at least for Life to those who should confide in it. In Consequence of this Proclamation, 19 of the late King's Judges voluntarily surrendered themselves; others withdrew out of the Kingdom, and some were taken in attempting an Escape.

The Republicans demand of the King particular Letters of Pardon.

While the House was employed in the *Indemnity Bill*, some leading *Republicans*, who had not sate upon the King, but exercised Civil or Military Employs during the Troubles, fearing an Inquiry into their past Conduct, demanded of the King *Letters of Pardon* under his Great-Seal, in order to screen themselves from all Prosecution. The King granted their Request, without suffering himself to be solicited, shewing thereby that he really intended to execute his Promise in his *Breda* Declaration. For he was perswaded that there was no better Means to pacify the Troubles, and restore mutual Confidence among his Subjects, than the exact Observation of his Promises.

The King, his Brothers, &c. dine in the City.

The 5th of *July* the City of *London* invited the King and the two Princes his Brothers, the great Officers of the Crown, and both Houses of Parliament to an Entertainment, which, in Magnificence, was answerable to the Riches of the City which gave it, and the Quality of the Persons who were invited to it.

The Act of Indemnity meets with some hindrances.

Though the King had a real Intention to dispatch the *Act of Indemnity* out of Hand, yet it met with great Difficulties in the *House of Commons* with regard to the Clauses which were to be inserted in it. Some of the Members were for having no Notice taken of the *Breda* Declaration, but for making Examples of all who had, with the greatest Zeal, supported the

late Uſurpation. This cauſed Suſpicions of the King's being in Intelligence with theſe Men, and of his intending to ſuſpend the Effect of his Declaration by Means of the Parliament, till he had taken full Revenge of his Enemies. This Suſpicion was induſtriouſly diſperſed amongſt the People by Libels, which aimed to deſtroy all Confidence in the King's Promiſes, and revive the Troubles by driving thoſe who knew themſelves moſt Criminal to deſpair. To diſſipate therefore theſe Suſpicions, which might have had very bad Conſequences, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, to preſs them to a diſpatch of the *Indemnity Act*, and to draw it up agreeably to the Declaration from *Breda*. This Meſſage had ſo good an Effect that, a few Days after, the *Act* paſſed the *Houſe of Commons*, and was ſent up to the Lords for their Concurrence. 1660.

Prepared by the Commons.

In this Bill, the *Houſe of Commons* only excepted out of the Pardon a ſmall Number of the moſt notorious and active *Regicides*. But the Lords, incited by divers Petitions of the Widows, Children, and Relations of Perſons executed by Virtue of the Sentences of the Courts erected in the Time of the Uſurpation, were for excepting out of the Pardon all who had ſate as Judges in thoſe Courts. The King fearing new Delays from this Difference of Sentiments, between the two Houſes, came to the *Houſe of Lords* the 27th of *July*, and in a pathetick Speech, endeavoured to prevail with them to paſs the *Bill* as ſent up by the *Commons*. He repreſented to them

The King's Speech to the Lords.

" *That his Honour was concerned to fulfill the Promiſe* " *made in his Declaration*; That he never thought " of excepting out of the General Pardon any but " the immediate Murtherers of his Father; That " the Peace and Tranquillity of the Kingdom en- " tirely depended upon the Performance of his Pro- " miſe, *which* (ſays he) *if I had not made, I am per-* " *ſwaded neither* I nor you had *now been here*: I " pray therefore let us not deceive *thoſe* who brought " or permitted us to come together, and earneſtly

1660. "desire you to depart from all particular Animosi-
"ties and Revenge, or Memory of past Provocati-
"ons, and pass this Act without other Exceptions
"than of those who were immediately Guilty of the
"Murder of my Father."

Amendments made by the Lords to the Bill of the Commons.

This Speech, and a Message sent by the King to both Houses on the same Subject, determined the Lords to Act conformably to the Declaration from *Breda*. They therefore sent the Bill to the *Commons* with two *Amendments*. The first related to twenty Persons, who, by the *Common*'s Bill were subject to all those Penalties which it should please the Parliament to inflict, Death excepted, though they were not of the Number of the King's Judges. The Lords entirely refused their Consent to this Clause, because it was contrary to the Declaration from *Breda*. The other *Amendment* related to the 19 Judges of the late King, who had voluntarily surrendered themselves upon the King's Proclamation of the 6th of *June*. For the Lords were for having included in the Act, both as to Life and Estate, these Nineteen, who had distinguished themselves from the rest by the Confidence which they had in the King's Clemency; whereas the *Commons* were only for granting them Life, leaving them liable to Forfeiture of Estates, Imprisonment, Banishment, or such other Penalties as the Parliament should think convenient.

Conference upon that Subject.

This was the Subject of several Conferences between the two Houses, which, in the end, produced an Unanimity of Sentiment, agreeably to which the *Act* was formed. In one of these Conferences, Chancellor *Hyde* declared, That the King having sent him in Embassy to the King of *Spain*, had expressly charged him to tell that Monarch, *That the horrible Murther of his Father ought not to be deemed as the Act of the Parliament or People of* England, *but of a small Crew of Wretches and Miscreants who had usurped the Sovereign Power, and rendered themselves Masters of the Kingdom.* This was so agreeable to the *Commons*, that they sent a Deputation

4 with

with their Thanks to the King. At laſt, the King repairing to the *Houſe of Lords* the 29th of *Auguſt*, gave the Royal Aſſent to the *Act of Indemnity* which contained in Subſtance: 1660.

Act of Indemnity. Echard.

Penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould uſe any Words of Reproach tending to revive the Memory of the late Troubles, with an abſolute Pardon to all thoſe who had been engaged in them, excepting the following Perſons; namely,

Forty Nine of thoſe who had been the late King's Judges, with this Diſtinction relating to the 19, who had voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves, that if they were condemned, their Execution ſhould be reſpited till the King and Parliament ſhould order the ſame.

Oliver Cromwell, *Bradſhaw*, *Pride*, and one and Twenty beſides, who were Dead, were nevertheleſs ſubjected to Confiſcations, and other Penalties which it ſhould pleaſe the King and Parliament to ordain againſt them.

Phelps and Sir *Arthur Haſlerig* were put in the ſame Condition.

Hutchinſon and *Laſſels* were declared incapable of exerciſing any Employ, and condemned to one Years Forfeiture of the Revenue of their whole Eſtates.

It was moreover ordained, that *Oliver* St. *John*, and Seventeen others named in this Article, ſhould be excluded from any Benefit by this Act, if they accepted, or executed any Office in *England*, either Eccleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military.

All that had given Sentence of Death in any of the late illegal High-Courts of Juſtice, except Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Thomlinſon*, were diſabled from being Members in any Parliament, or bearing any Office in *England* or *Wales*.

Thoſe who had converted to their Uſe any Goods belonging to the Church, were excluded from the Benefit of this Act.

1666. Sir *Henry Vane* and *Lambert* were excluded out of the Pardon both as to Life and Estate.

Other Acts. The King likewise passed on this Occasion the following Acts.

1. An *Act* to confirm all *Judicial Proceedings* from the 1st of *May* 1642, notwithstanding their Illegality.

2. An *Act* for Provision of Moneys to pay off the Armies and Navy.

3. An *Act* to fix the Interest of Money at Six *per Cent.*

4. An *Act* for a perpetual *Anniversary Thanksgiving* on the 29th of *May*, the Day of his Majesty's Nativity and Restoration.

After the King had given his Assent to these five Acts, he made a Speech to both Houses, to testify how much he was pleased with having passed them; then he added, "I am so confident of your Affecti-

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

"ons, that I will not move you in any Thing that "immediately relates to my Self: And yet I must "tell you, that I am not Richer, that is, I have "not so much Money in my Purse, as when I came "to you. The Truth is I have lived principally e-"ver since upon what I brought with me, which "was indeed your Money: You sent it to me, and "I thank you for it. The Weekly Expence of the "Navy eats up all you have given me by the Bill "of *Tonnage* and *Poundage:* Nor have I been able "to give my Brothers one Shilling since I came into "*England*, nor to keep any Table in my House, "but where I eat my self. And that which trou-"bles me most is, to see many of you come to *White-*"*hall*, and to think you must go some where else to "seek a Dinner. I do not mention this to you as "any Thing that troubles me: Do but take Care "of the Publick, and for what is Necessary for the "Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your "own Time for my *own particular*, which I am sure

"you

" you will provide for with as much Frankneſs and " Affection as I can deſire." 1660.

The *Commons* remembring what the King had ſaid to them in relation to his Brothers, made a Preſent to the Duke of *York* of Ten Thouſand Pounds, and of Seven Thouſand to the Duke of *Glouceſter*. After this they went about ſettling the King's Revenues, and came to a Reſolution to raiſe them to Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which was more than any King of *England* had ever enjoyed, except *Henry* VIII. But before the Fund of this Revenue could be ſettled, the King came to the Parliament the 13th of *September*, and after his Aſſent given to ſome *Bills* that were ready, he gave them leave, and directed them to adjourn themſelves to the 6th of *November*, which they did accordingly. The Acts paſſed on this Occaſion were:

Preſents made by the Parliament to the King's Brothers.

A Vote to ſettle on the King 1200000 l.

The Parliament prorogued.

1. An *Act* for the ſpeedy raiſing of a Hundred Thouſand Pounds for a preſent Supply by way of Land-Tax.

Divers Acts.

2. An *Act* to impower and direct the Commiſſioners in what Manner to disband the Army, and to pay off ſome Part of the Fleet.

3. An *Act* for raiſing one Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds, at Seventy Thouſand Pounds a Month, to begin the firſt of *November*.

4. An *Act* for regulating the *Bay* Trade.

5. An *Act* for incouraging and increaſing Shipping and Navigation.

6. An *Act* for reſtoring ſome Miniſters to their Places, and confirming others in vacant Places.

The ſame Day dyed the Duke of *Glouceſter* Brother to the King. This Prince, now 20 Years of Age, was taken out of the World by the Small-Pox, when it was leaſt expected. As he had very good Qualities, the King his Brother who loved him tenderly, appeared more concerned for this Loſs, than for any Misfortune which had ever befallen him.

Duke of Glouceſter dies.

During

1660. *Trial and Execution of the* Regicides.

During the Adjournment of the Parliament, the King appointed Commissioners for the Tryal of the *Regicides*. The Number of those who were concerned in the late King's Death, as Judges, Officers of *the Court of Justice*, and others, amounted to Fourscore, of which 25 were Dead, 19 had made their Escapes, Seven others who had a less Share in the Crime were made Objects of the King's Clemency, and 29 were condemned to Die. But of these 19, who had surrendred themselves upon the Proclamation of the 6th of *June*, had their Lives saved, but were reserved for other Penalties, as Imprisonment, Banishment, and Forfeiture of Estates. So that 10 only were Executed; *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Cook*, *Peters*, *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, *Axtel*. What was most Remarkable in the Death of these Men was, that not one of them shewed any Signs of Repentance, or did not think but he died a Martyr. Two of them were with some Difficulty prevailed with to pray for the King. They were almost all *Anabaptists*, *Enthusiasts*, *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, who believed no sort of Violence unlawful to advance the Reign of *Jesus Christ*, and all, Men of mean Birth, except *Carew* and *Scroop*.

A Proclamation regarding Religion.

A few Days after the Parliament was adjourned, the King had published a Proclamation about Religion, containing Eight Articles, of which the greater Part prescribed certain Rules to the Bishops in the Exercise of their Spiritual Jurisdiction. The Two last deserve a more particular Notice, because they discover that the *Presbyterians* were not like to continue long undisturbed. The VIIth ran that a certain Number of *Divines* should be appointed to revise the *Liturgy*, and make such Alterations in it as should be judged Necessary, and that scrupulous Persons should not be punished or troubled for not using it *at present*. The VIIIth was concerning *Ceremonies*, to which, *for the present*, no Person should be obliged to conform himself. This Restriction, *for the present*, makes it evident, that those who advised the King

King to this Proclamation, had no Intention to leave the *Presbyterians* in Poſſeſſion of that Liberty which had been promiſed to them by the *Breda*-Declaration, and doubtleſs by General *Monk*, when they engaged to promote the King's Reſtoration. 1660.

The Biſhops reſtored.

There were yet living nine of the old Biſhops, who were reſtored to their *Sees* without any Difficulty *. Seven or eight others were new conſecrated; and *Coſens*, againſt whom ſo many Complaints had been laid before the Parliament in 1640, was conſecrated to the *See* of *Durham*, where he had once been *Prebend* *1 Biſhopricks and Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were offered to the moſt eminent *Presbyterian*-Miniſters, but all refuſed except *Reynolds*, who accepted of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich* *2.

Embaſſies from divers Parts.

I ſhall not enlarge on the Embaſſies to the King from divers Princes of *Europe*, to congratulate him upon his Reſtoration; the *States* of the *United Provinces* were the firſt who paid their Complements on this Occaſion, and at the ſame Time ſent him a good Number of excellent Pictures, drawn by the fineſt Hands.

The Princeſs Dowager of Orange *arrives in* England. *And the Queen-Mother. Her Buſineſs at the Court of* England.

In *October* the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange* came to *London* to congratulate the King her Brother upon his Reſtoration. And in *November* arrived from *France* the Queen-Mother, who brought with her the Princeſs *Henrietta* her Daughter, and the Prince *Palatine Edward*, Brother to Prince *Rupert*. It is pretended that the Queen uſed her Endeavours to prevail with the King to marry *Hortenſia Mancini* Niece to Cardinal *Mazarin*: but that Propoſal being coldly received,

* Namely, *Juxon* of *London*, *Pierce* of *Bath and Wells*, *Skinner* of *Oxford*, *Warner* of *Rocheſter*. *Roberts* of *Bangor*, *Wren* of *Ely*, *Duppa* of *Salisbury*, *King* of *Chicheſter*, and *Frewen* of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*.

*1 The Author by miſtake ſays, *Dean*, he was Dean of *Peterborough*. The reſt of the new Biſhops were, *Lucy* of *St. David's*, *Laney* of *Peterborough*, *Stern* of *Carliſle*, *Lloyd* of *Landaff*, *Walton* of *Cheſter*, *Gauden* of *Exeter*.

*2 *Calamy*, *Baxter*, *Manton*, *Bates* and *Bowles*, were offered Biſhopricks and Deaneries.

1660. ed, ſhe adviſed him to purſue the Negotiation of his Marriage already begun with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. Thus much is certain, ſhe propoſed to the King the Marriage of the Princeſs *Henrietta*, with the Duke of *Orleans*, which found no Difficulty. If ſome Authors are to be credited, ſhe had two other Motives in her Viſit. The firſt was to draw the King her Son into the Intereſt of *France*, againſt *Spain*. The ſecond, was to prevail with the King to diſmiſs the Chancellor, whom ſhe hated, as is evident from his own Hiſtory. But the King did not think fit to part with ſo ſerviceable and affectionate a Miniſter, to pleaſe his Mother.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament meeting the 6th of *November* made a ſolemn Deputation to the Queen-Mother, to congratulate her on her Arrival in *England*. Shortly after the *Commons* made a preſent of 10000 *l.* to each of the young Princeſſes her Daughters.

The Duke of York's *firſt Marriage.*

The Duke of *York* had ſince his Return into *England* married the Daughter of Chancellor *Hyde*, to which he had been in ſome Meaſure compelled, that young Lady being big with Child. There were not wanting Perſons to diſſwade the Duke from ſo unequal a Match. But the King's Affection for the Chancellor over-ruled all Conſiderations of the Injury which the Duke his Brother, and the Royal Houſe might receive from it. He ſignified to the Duke that he would do a grateful Thing to him not to uſe any Shifts in the Matter, and plainly told him, that he muſt drink as he had brewed, to which the Duke ſubmitted from a Motive of Obedience, one will eaſily believe that the Queen-Mother, who hated the Chancellor, was not pleaſed with this Marriage. She refuſed a long Time to ſee her Daughter-in-law, and it was at the preſſing Inſtances of the King that ſhe at laſt was brought to receive the Tender of her Duty. But during her Stay in *England*, ſhe treated her with ſo much Coldneſs, that her Averſion to this Marriage was very viſible.

The

The Parliament having in their firſt Seſſion gone through every Thing relating to the *Act of Indemnity*, applied their next Cares to put the King in a Condition to disband the Army. For this Purpoſe ſeveral Sums were granted him, and in proportion as the Money came in, Regiments were broke, ſo that this Work was finiſhed in the ſpace of a few Months. Thus the Army, which had ſo long held *England* in awe, was reduced to *Monk*'s ſingle Regiment, which was the only one left upon the Eſtabliſhment. But in disbanding the Army, the King introduced a Novelty which was diſagreeable to many. This was his forming for his ordinary Guard two Regiments, one of Horſe, and one of Foot, in Imitation of the Practice in *France*, and other Kingdoms. This was ſo much like a ſtanding Army, to which the *Engliſh* were always averſe, that many began then to fear the King had ill Deſigns upon the Publick Liberty. His Predeceſſors had no other Guards than the Gentlemen Penſioners eſtabliſhed by *Henry* VII.

1660.

Money granted for diſbanding the Army.

The King inſtitutes Guards.

The Disbanding of the Army being in ſuch forwardneſs, the King told the Parliament, that it was his Intention to diſſolve them in *December*. Whereupon the *Commons*, to give his Majeſty a freſh Inſtance of their Zeal, confirmed and renewed the Reſolution already taken, of granting the King an Annual Revenue of 1200000 *l.* but the Time being too ſhort to ſettle the Funds upon which this Revenue was to be raiſed, the Houſe thought it more proper to employ the Time that remained in preparing the *Bills* that were to be paſſed into *Acts* before the Diſſolution.

The Vote of the 1200000l. to be ſettled on the King confirmed.

Little Pains has been taken to give us the Reaſons that might induce the King to diſſolve a Parliament which had been ſo favourable to him, and ſhewn ſuch Zeal for his Intereſt. It is my private Opinion, that the Miniſtry, and particularly the Chancellor, who was at the Head of it, looked with no good Eye upon a Parliament which had ſo many Members of *That* of 1640, and which according to all appearance, whatever

The Author's Conjecture upon the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

1660. whatever they pretended outwardly, had not loſt their antient Principles with regard to the Royal Authority. The Miniſtry, doubtleſs believed, that it would be too difficult an Undertaking for them to manage and govern ſuch a Parliament, at their own Will and Fancy. Beſides it is very probable, that the Chancellor, the great Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, had formed the Deſign of depriving them of the Liberty promiſed to them, which would have been an impoſſible Undertaking, if this Parliament had continued: they believed therefore that as the People then ſtood affected to the King, they would have Credit enough to have a new Parliament returned more proper for the Execution of their Deſigns. The Tranſactions of the following Parliament confirm this Conjecture. It muſt however be ſaid for the Chancellor, that as much as he deteſted the Maxims of the Parliament of 1640, with reſpect to the Royal Authority, he nevertheleſs went not into the Exceſſes of the other Faction, nor believed it at all for the Intereſt of *England* to have a King abſolute, and armed with Power to do whatever he ſhould pleaſe. This is manifeſt from an Incident at the very Time I am ſpeaking of. A Member of the *Commons*, Mr. *Alexander Popham* by Name, who had conſiderable Influence in that Houſe, made a Propoſal to the King, that if he could manage the Court-Party, himſelf would undertake to have a perpetual Revenue of more than two Millions ſettled on him, which would free him from any Dependance upon his Parliament, except in extraordinary Caſes. The Propoſal pleaſed the King, and he ſpoke to the Chancellor of it, as of a Project advantagious for his Intereſt. But he bravely anſwered, *that the beſt Revenue his Majeſty could have was the Affection of his Subjects, which if he once was poſſeſſed of, Money would never be wanting to him.* Nor did he reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer to the King, but he even took Pains to undeceive the Lord-Treaſurer, the Earl of *Southampton*, who had approved the Project, and by very ſolid Reaſons convinced

vinced him, that the Succeſs of it would be the Ruin of the Kingdom. It is pretended that the Chancellor's Oppoſition to *Popham*'s Project, was one of the chief Cauſes of his Diſgrace. 1660.

The Bodies of Cromwell, *and other Rebels dug up.*

The Parliament before their Diſſolution ordered the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Pride*, to be taken out of their Grave, drawn upon a Hurdle to *Tyburn*, and there hung from ten a Clock in the Forenoon, till Sun-ſet, and then buried under the Gallows. At the ſame Time an *Act of Attainder* paſſed, not only againſt theſe deceaſed Rebels, but againſt all thoſe who had fled, in which Number was *Ludlow*, Author of the Memoirs under his Name.

A treaſonable Libel publiſhed.

About the ſame Time *William Drake*, Citizen and Merchant of *London*, publiſhed a Book, intituled, *The long Parliament*, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the ſaid Parliament had not been legally diſſolved. The *Commons* brought an Impeachment of High-Treaſon againſt the Author, but had not Time to bring it to a Tryal.

A pretended Plot.

At this Time likewiſe ſeveral Army Officers, who had ſerved under *Cromwell*, *Desborough*, *Morgan*, and *Overton*, and others, were taken up upon an uncertain Rumour of a Plot to ſecure the Perſon of the King, ſeize the *Tower*, and kill the Queen-Mother, but it did not appear that this Rumour had any good Foundation.

Acts.

At laſt, on the 29th of *December*, the King came to the Parliament, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the following *Acts*.

1. An *Act* for Levying the Arrears of the twelve Month's Aſſeſſment.

2. An *Act* for the farther ſupplying ſeveral Defects in the Act for disbanding the Army.

3. An *Act* for ſix Months Aſſeſſment, at Seventy Thouſand Pounds per Month, to begin the 1ſt of *January*.

4. An

1660. 4. An *Act* for the better ordering the selling of Wines by Retail, and for preventing Abuses in the mingling, corrupting, and limiting the Prices of the same.

5. An *Act* for erecting a Post-Office.

6. An *Act* for an Impost upon Ale, Beer, Cyder, and other Liquors, to hold for his Majesty's Life.

7. An *Act* for the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds for his Majesty's further Supply.

8. An *Act* for the Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murder of *Charles* I.

9. An *Act* for Confirmation of Leases and Grants for Colleges and Hospitals.

10. An *Act* to prohibit the Exportation of Wool, and Fuller's-Earth.

11. An *Act* for prohibiting the Planting of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*.

12. An *Act* for taking away the *Court of Wards*, and *Liveries*, together with *Tenure in Capite*, *Knight's Service*, and *Purveyances*, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof.

After the giving the Royal Assent to these *Acts*, the King made the following Speech to both Houses:

My LORDS *and* GENTLEMEN,

Echard, p. 782. "I Will not entertain you with a long Discourse, "the Sum of all I have to say to you, being to "give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks: And I "assure you I find it a very difficult Work to satisfy "my self in my own Expressions of those Thanks. "Perfunctory Thanks, ordinary Thanks for ordina- "ry Civilities are easily given; but when the Heart "is full as mine is, it is a Labour to Thank you. "You have taken great Pains to oblige me; and "therefore it cannot be easy for me to express the "Sense I have for it. I will enlarge no further to "you on this Occasion, than to tell you, when God "brought me hither, I brought with me an extraor-

"dinary

" dinary Affection and Eſteem for Parliaments. I 1660.
" need not tell you how much it is improved by
" your Carriage towards me. You have out-done
" all the good and obliging Acts of your Predeceſ-
" ſors towards the Crown; and therefore you can-
" not but believe my Heart is exceedingly enlarged
" with the Acknowledgement. Many former Parli-
" aments have had particular Denominations for
" what they have done: They have been ſtiled
" *Learned* and *Unlearned*, and ſometimes have had
" the worſt Epithets: I pray let us reſolve that
" this be for ever called the HEALING, and the
" BLESSED PARLIAMENT. As I thank you,
" though not enough, for what you have done, ſo
" I have not the leaſt doubt, but when I ſhall call
" the next Parliament (which I ſhall do as ſoon as
" you can reaſonably expect or deſire) I ſhall re-
" ceive your hearty Thanks for what I ſhall then
" have done, ſince I have parted from you. For I
" deal truly with you: I ſhall not more propoſe
" any one Rule to my ſelf in my Actions and Coun-
" ſels than this: *What is a Parliament like to think of*
" *this Action, and this Counſel?* And it ſhall be a
" Want of Underſtanding in me if it will not bear
" that Teſt. I ſhall conclude with this, which I
" cannot ſay too often, nor you too often where you
" go: *That* next to the miraculous Bleſſing of God
" Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of
" that Bleſſing, *I do impute the good Diſpoſition and*
" *Security we are all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity*
" *and Oblivion*: That is the principal Corner-Stone
" which ſupports this excellent Building, that creates
" Kindneſs in us to each other, and Confidence in
" our joint Security. You may be ſure I will not only
" obſerve it religiouſly and inviolably my ſelf, but
" alſo exact the Obſervance of it from others: And
" if any Perſon ſhall ever have the boldneſs to at-
" tempt to perſwade me to the contrary, he will
" find ſuch an Acceptation from me, as he would
" have, who ſhould perſwade me to burn *Magna*

1660. "*Charta*, cancel the old Laws, and erect a new Go-
"vernment after my own Invention and Appetite."

This flattering Speech was received by the People with great Applauſe, every Perſon pleaſing himſelf that a Prince of this Character could have no other Views, than the making his Subjects enjoy Peace and Plenty. The King's Speech was followed by one to the two Houſes from the Chancellor, much longer, but pointing to the ſame Deſign, that is, to perſwade the People that the King being extremely tender of them, had no other Aim in all his Actions than their Happineſs. He forgot not to mention the pretended Conſpiracy, for the Subverſion of the preſent Government. But without entering into a large Detail of it, he contented himſelf with aſſuring the Houſes that the Conſpiracy was real, and that *Ludlow*, one of the fugitive Regicides, was deeply concerned in it. This Inſinuation was neceſſary on two Accounts. The Firſt to convince the People of the Neceſſity of putting the *Militia* into the King's Hands, to enable him to curb the Inſolence of Male-contents and factious Perſons. The Second to furniſh a Pretence for the Breach of the King's Promiſe, in his *Breda*-Declaration, from the indiſpenſable Neceſſity of providing for the Safety of the State, againſt the ill Deſigns of the Sectaries. This will be ſeen more clearly in the Sequel. After the Chancellor had ended his Speech, he declared the Parliament diſſolved.

The Chancellor's Speech.

The Parliament diſſolved.

Thus ended his Parliament, about eight Months after the firſt Opening, and ſeven after the King's Reſtoration. I have already obſerved that moſt of the Members were *Presbyterians*, or at leaſt that Party had the greateſt Sway in the Parliament. For this Reaſon, without doubt, ſome Writers magnifying what this Parliament did for the King, and its Diſpoſition to favour his Intereſts, have hinted that it was owing to little leſs than a Miracle, that it did not ſurrender into the King's Hands the whole Liberties of the Nation. But this is an Exaggeration which has

A Remark upon this Parliament.

has nothing to ſupport it. Look into all the *Acts* of this Parliament, and nothing will be met with there to give any Countenance to this Opinion. The King was recalled by it; but certainly that Step will be forgiven. A Revenue of twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds was voted by it for the King. But it was only voted, and executed by the ſucceeding Parliament. The *Act* of *Indemnity* at the King's preſſing Inſtance was paſſed by it, and this was abſolutely neceſſary. The King had a Supply granted by it, to pay off the Fleet and the Army. But could this be avoided without endangering the Publick Tranquillity? A Preſent was made by it to the King, of Money for his Neceſſities, in no extraordinary Sums, and another of Thirty-ſeven Thouſand Pounds to his Brothers and Siſters. But was any Thing more juſt or more natural than to enable him to ſupport the Expences of his Family, till his own Revenues could be ſettled and eſtabliſhed? This Parliament therefore did nothing which with any Colour can be wreſted to a Diſpoſition of delivering up the Liberties of the Nation. But it will be afterwards ſeen that this Diſpoſition, which is only imaginary, as it relates to this Parliament, was really and truly in that which ſucceeded it: and that after having done too much, it ſaw a Neceſſity of changing its Meaſures, and uſing extraordinary Means to oppoſe the Deſigns of that very King, to whom it had given a Power almoſt unlimited. Nevertheleſs the Conduct of this ſecond Parliament has eſcaped without Cenſure, at the ſame time when the Compliance of the firſt has been aggravated beyond all Bounds. The Reaſon of this Difference is very obvious, being no other than that the ſecond Parliament went more willingly into the Views and Principles of the Writers, who have ſo ſeverely remarked on the former. In ſhort, if it is conſidered that the firſt Parliament ſat only ſeven Months after the King's Reſtoration, and that the ſecond continued eighteen Years, it will be eaſily underſtood which of the two ought, with moſt Reaſon, 1660.

1660. to be charged with the Design of delivering up the Liberties of the Nation into the Hands of the King.

Death of the Princess of Orange. The Conclusion of this Year brought the King a new Subject of Affliction in the Death of the Princess of *Orange* his Sister, who died of the small Pox the 24th of *December*, at the Age of Twenty-nine Years. She left but one Son, who was afterwards King of *England* by the Name of *William* III.

Other Deaths. In this same Year dyed the Earl of *Hartford*, lately restored to the Title of Duke of *Somerset*. He has been often mentioned in the Reign of *Charles* I. Doctor *Hammond* the famous *Divine*, died a little before the King's Restoration.

The Royal Society founded. It was likewise this Year that the Royal Society was erected by *Letters Patents* from the King, who besides granted to it all the necessary Encouragement towards a Discovery of the Secrets of Nature, and of what is most curious and most necessary to be known in Natural Philosophy and Mechanicks.

Before we finish this Year it will not be foreign to our Purpose to say a Word of the Transactions of *Scotland*, from the Time of the King's Restoration.

Affairs of Scotland. After the King's Departure out of *Scotland*, at the Head of an Army to make an Invasion upon *England*, the *English* had made an entire Conquest of that Kingdom, under the Conduct of General *Monk*, who was employed by the Parliament. From this Time every Thought or Regard of the King for *Scotland* tended only to foment the publick Differences, and to make some Essays towards a Revolt, by the Assistance of his *Partizans*. For although he had been recognized and crowned in *Scotland*, yet he always regarded his own Interests as directly opposite to those of that Kingdom, or at least of the ruling Party in it. He never loved the *Scots*, and his Belief of their having sold the King his Father to the *English* Parliament, contributed greatly to his Prejudice against them. Nor was it at all diminished by his Residence in that Country. His Restoration to the *English* Throne rendered him doubly Master of *Scotland*; first,

first, as he was its natural King, and as such had been crowned there; and secondly, as *Scotland* had been conquered by the *English*, nothing would have been more easy than to have left *Scotland* in Dependance upon the *English* Crown, as there was no likelihood that the *Scots* could ever be in a Condition to recover their Liberty. It seems that even the King was not averse to this Thought, since he had suffered *Scotland* to continue in the Hands of the *English*, more than two Months after his Restoration. But at last he came to a Resolution of restoring this Kingdom to its antient Constitution, by making it a separate State, independent of *England*. For this Purpose *Monk* writ in the King's Name to the *English* Judges there, to discontinue their Functions the 22d of *August*; and at the same Time the King issued out his Orders for a Convention of the Committee of the Estates, till a Parliament should be called. He named the Great Officers of the Kingdom, and took Care to chuse into those Employs, and to form his Council of, Men believed to be most firmly devoted to him. The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellor, the Earl of *Crawford* was restored to the Treasury, the Earl of *Cassils* was made Justice-General, the Earl of *Lauther-dale* first Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* was declared the King's Commissioner. These Men, as well as those who formed the Council, had been always firmly attached to the King's Interests. Thus the *Scots*, freed from the Yoke laid on them by *Cromwell*, returned to the State they were in before the Troubles broke out in 1637, that is to say, to the Government of a King and Ministers entirely conformable in their Principles to those of *Charles* I, and the Ministers of that Time. But there was this disadvantagious Difference, that the *Scots* were no longer in a Condition to make themselves feared, being entirely subdued. They had soon occasion to know what they were to expect. Some of their Ministers having met together for the drawing up a Petition concerning their *Grievances*, were sent to Prison by 1660.

1660. the Committee of the Eſtates, without any Examination of the Nature, the Motives, or the Language of the *Petition*, as if the bare Deſign of preſenting it had been criminal. Beſides a Proclamation came out, forbidding all ſorts of unlawful Aſſemblies and ſeditious Writings, the Committee ſuppoſing that the Miniſter's Aſſembly and Petition were of that Nature. This might have ſatisfied the *Presbyterians*, who were the Bulk of the *Scottiſh* Nation, what was preparing for them, and that they had no other Remedy but Submiſſion and Patience.

They had ſtill another very convincing Proof. The Marqueſs of *Argyle* being in *London* to pay his Duty to the King, was arreſted, ſent to the *Tower*, and afterwards to *Scotland*, to be there tryed on an Impeachment of High-Treaſon. The King in his Declaration from *Breda*, had made no mention of *Scotland*. This left the *Scots* to the Reſentment and Vengeance of their Enemies. Amongſt theſe Chancellor *Hyde* was one of the moſt violent, as he has plainly enough diſcovered in his Hiſtory of the Civil Wars; and unhappily for the *Scots*, he was now Prime Miniſter in *England*, and had the principal Direction of the King's Affairs. Some indeed of the *Engliſh* Council were of Opinion, that it would turn to the King's Advantage to ſuffer the *Scots* to enjoy the Benefit of his *Breda*-Declaration. But the contrary Advice prevailed, whether from the King's Animoſity, and that of his Counſellors, or from the Hopes of ſuch as had faithfully ſerved the King in his Troubles, of having the Eſtates of all condemned Perſons.

This Reſolution being taken, the King called a Parliament in *Scotland* to meet the 12th of *December*, and publiſhed a Proclamation, declaring that he left it entirely to this Parliament to examine into the Conduct of his Subjects of *Scotland*; and that after Reparation made to his Honour, and his Prerogative eſtabliſhed, he would grant a Pardon which would diſcover his earneſt Deſire for the Happineſs of his Peo-

ple,

ple. It will be ſeen afterwards what Method he took to procure this Happineſs to his People of *Scotland*. 1660.

Affairs of Ireland.

With regard to *Ireland*, the King committed the Government of it to Sir *Morrice Euſtace* Chancellor, the Earls of *Orrery* and *Montraith*, in Quality of Lords-Juſtices, till a Lord-Lieutenant ſhould be appointed.

1660-1. *Inſurrection of the Anabaptiſts under* Venner.

The Year 1661 was uſhered in by an extraordinary Event. This was an Inſurrection of ſome *Enthuſiaſts*, who expected the *Fifth Monarchy*, or the Reign of *Jeſus Chriſt* on Earth, and believed themſelves under Obligations of Conſcience to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to promote it.

As I have elſewhere ſpoken of theſe Men, and as their Principles are ſufficiently known by the Tragedies acted by them at *Munſter*, and other Places of *Germany*, it will be needleſs to give here a particular Account of their Tenets. The 6th of *January*, while the King was attending the Queen-Mother, and the Princeſs his Siſter to *Dover*, in their Return to *France*, about Fifty of theſe Men, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, aſſembled in the Night in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, and killed a Man, who to the Queſtion of *who goes there?* had anſwered, *for God and the King*. This gave an Alarm to the City, which ſent a Detachment of its *Militia* againſt them, who were immediately defeated. This gave them time to march through divers Streets, and at laſt to leave the City and retire to *Cane*-Wood, from whence a Detachment of Horſe and Foot ſent by General *Monk* diſlodged them, and took ſome Priſoners. But this did not prevent the reſt from returning back into the City, where they fought like Madmen, till they were obliged to take Sanctuary in a Houſe. They there defended themſelves like Men fearleſs of Death, or rather as ſecure from all Danger under the Protection of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Here it was that *Venner*, himſelf wounded, and Twenty of his own Men, and as many of the Aſſailants killed, was taken Priſoner with all thoſe who ſtood by him. A few Days

1660-1. after they were all tryed, condemned and executed, without any Confeſſion of Guilt, and perſiſting in their Extravagances to the laſt. Two Young Men only of the whole Number ſhewed ſome Signs of Repentance.

The Court takes occaſion from this Inſurrection to forbid Conventicles.

Though this Attempt can with no Juſtice be conſidered as the Conſequence of a Deſign formed by a whole Party; nay, though the *Anabaptiſts* ſhould be ſuppoſed all guilty of it, other *Sects* ought to lie under no Imputation: And yet the Court made Advantage of this Inſurrection to confirm the Rumours of a Conſpiracy againſt the Government. The King took occaſion from it to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding all ſorts of *Meetings* and *Conventicles* under colour of Religion; and commanding the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* to be tendered to all Perſons ill-affected to the Government. In caſe of refuſal, they were to be proſecuted on the *Statute* of the 7th of *James* I.

A Remark upon this Subject.

The Reader, without doubt, will be aſtoniſhed to ſee all the other Sectaries, from the Extravagancies of ſome *Anabaptiſts*, in which they had no ſhare, involved in the common Prohibition to hold religious Aſſemblies, contrary to the expreſs Terms of the Declaration from *Breda*. But it will be immediately ſeen that the Ruin of the *Presbyterian*-Party was already reſolved on, and that Pretexts were only wanted to execute this Deſign, ſuch Pretexts particularly, as might encourage a Belief, that the Safety of the King and the Government were only intended by what was done. The End propoſed was to inſinuate, that Religion was no ways concerned, but only the State, and thereby obviate the Objection which would naturally be drawn from the *Breda*-Declaration, wherein the King had ſolemnly promiſed that no Perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of his Religion. To ſucceed in this Deſign, an admirable Expedient was contrived. This was to range under the ſame Denomination all the *Sects* differing from the Church of *England*, in order to charge the whole Body,

The Name of Nonconformiſt applied indifferently to all Sectaries.

Body, conſiſting of all theſe ſeveral *Sects*, with a Crime which only belonged to one of them, had they been duly diſtinguiſhed. This Denomination was that of *Diſſenters* or *Non-conformiſts*, and under it were comprehended as well the *Presbyterians*, as the *Papiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, and other *Sectaries*. Thus by this affected Confuſion, all the *Non-conformiſts* were charged with the Faults of one of the *Sects* compriſed under this Denomination, and, as if they had compoſed but one and the ſame Body, puniſhed without Diſtinction, on the Pretence of keeping them under, and preventing them from giving any Diſturbance to the State. The *Catholicks*, the *Independents*, the *Anabaptiſts*, were *Non-conformiſts*. Precautions therefore were to be taken againſt the *Non-conformiſts*, and conſequently againſt the *Presbyterians*, becauſe their Enemies were pleaſed to comprehend them under the ſame general Appellation. Undeniable Proofs of what I advance here will afterwards be ſeen. The Truth is, the *Presbyterians* only were properly aimed at, whoſe Ruin was reſolved on, notwithſtanding the Declaration from *Breda*. For indeed it is not at all likely that a King, who had privately embraced the *Romiſh* Religion, would ſet up for a Perſecutor of the *Catholicks*. And the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts* made at that time ſo deſpicable a Figure, that the King's Miniſters had but little to fear from them. But ſuppoſing they had been ſomething formidable, yet why were they not diſtinguiſhed from the *Presbyterians*, who had given no Cauſe to any ſuch Suſpicions? All this therefore was only done to ſave, in ſome meaſure, the King's Honour, at a time when his Promiſes, contained in his Declaration from *Breda*, were openly evaded. This Word, *Non-conformiſts*, is therefore to be conſidered as an ambiguous Term, which indeed ſignifies Men who conform not themſelves to the Church of *England*; but not in a Senſe which ſome give it, as of a Body of Men inſeparably united, compoſed of all the *Diſſenters*, and acting 1660-1.

1660-1. acting with the ſame Views, and for the ſame Intereſt.

Conference at the Savoy between the Biſhops and Presbyterian Miniſters.

Some of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters obſerving that Endeavours were uſed to confound them with *Sects*, with whom they had no relation, petitioned the King for a Conference between themſelves and the Biſhops, in order to an Examination of the Differences between them, and of their Objections to the *Book of Common-Prayer*. The King took them at their word, and immediately named Twelve Biſhops as Principals, and Nine other Clergymen as Aſſiſtants; and on the Presbyterian Side, Twelve Miniſters as Principals, and Nine others as Aſſiſtants, to confer together at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe, who then lodged in the *Savoy* *. The Commiſſion ran: "That "the Commiſſioners appointed ſhould meet during "the Space of Four Months, from the 25th of "*March*, to adviſe upon and review the *Book of* "*Common-Prayer*;------ to take into their ſerious and "grave Conſiderations the ſeveral Directions and "Rules, Forms of Prayer, and things in the ſaid "*Book of Common-Prayer* contained; and to adviſe "and conſult upon and about the ſame, and the ſe-"veral Objections and Exceptions which ſhall now "be raiſed againſt the ſame; and if occaſion be, to "make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary *Alterations*, "*Corrections* and *Amendments*, as ſhall be agreed upon "to be needful and expedient for giving Satisfaction "to *tender Conſciences*, and the reſtoring and continu-"ance of *Peace* and *Unity* in the Churches under his "Majeſty's Government and Protection ----- And to "certify to his Majeſty in Writing, under their ſeveral "Hands, the *Matters* and *Things* whereupon they ſhall "ſo determine, to be by his Majeſty approved, *&c.*" Thus the King gave to theſe Twenty-one Miniſters a Power which they had never deſired, to decide, as well for themſelves as their Brethren, to the Number of

* *Rapin* has put the Number of the Principals of each ſide for that of the Aſſiſtants, and the contrary.

of more Than Two Thouſand, and for the whole Body of the *Presbyterians*, what was neceſſary to be altered in the *Liturgy*, without empowering them to meet beforehand to ſettle amongſt themſelves what they ſhould ask, in order to an Union with the Church of *England*. 1660 1.

From the firſt Day of the Conference it was eaſy to foreſee it would have no ſucceſsful Iſſue. For though the Miniſters had already acquainted the King and the Chancellor that they could decide nothing, unauthorized as they were by thoſe who could only give them Power, the Biſhop of *London* * immediately told them, that as themſelves had demanded this Conference, it belonged to them to produce at once, and under their Hands, all their *Exceptions* to the *Liturgy*, together with the additional *Forms* and *Alterations* which they deſired. The Miniſters anſwered, as they had before done to the King and the Chancellor, That they could decide nothing without having firſt conſulted with their abſent Brethren, and received from them a Commiſſion in Form. This tended to a Requeſt, that they might be permitted to meet in Synod and debate together on theſe Matters: But this was never meant to be granted them. They were therefore urged only to declare their own Senſe, when it was ſeen that they could not be brought to act as Deputies of a Body, which had indeed never commiſſioned them. To this was anſwered, That they were willing to give in writing their particular Sentiments, provided that at the ſame time the Biſhops would bring in their utmoſt Conceſſions, to the end that by comparing all the Articles together, one might in ſome meaſure judge of the Succeſs of the Conference. But the Biſhops peremptorily rejected this Propoſal. At laſt the Miniſters conſented to produce at once all their Objections, reſerving to themſelves nevertheleſs a Power to make Additions to them, in conſequence of the Anſwers which they ſhould 1661

* Sheldon.

1661. ſhould receive, and their Offer was accepted. This Plan was therefore put in Practice, and after a Diſcuſſion of the Objections and Anſwers, ſome ſlight Alterations in the *Liturgy* were agreed to. But beſides that the Miniſters conſidered theſe Alterations as inſufficient, there was another invincible Obſtacle to an Accommodation, and that was the Want of a Commiſſion to the Miniſters from their Brethren, which made whatever they ſaid to be looked on as only their own private Opinion.

I ſhall enter no farther into the Detail of this Conference, becauſe, to a thorough Underſtanding of it, is required a competent Knowledge of the *Engliſh Liturgy*, and the Manner in which *Divine Service* is celebrated, which cannot be ſuppoſed with regard to the Generality of Foreigners, for whom I write this Hiſtory. I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with ſome general Remarks, to aſſiſt the Reader in his Enquiries into the Differences betwixt the Church of *England* and the *Presbyterians*, and the Conduct of the one and the other Party.

Obſervations upon the Differences between the Churchmen and Presbyterians.

During the whole Reign of King *James*, and the Fifteen firſt Years of *Charles* I, the *Presbyterians* were under Oppreſſion, or at leaſt it may be ſaid, that the Church of *England* did not treat them with all the Tenderneſs which Chriſtian Charity ſeemed to require. From the Beginning of the Parliament of the 3d of *November* 1640, the Church of *England* was perſecuted in her Turn, and *Epiſcopacy* itſelf at laſt aboliſhed. After the *Independents* had rendered themſelves Maſters of the Parliament and Army, the *Epiſcoparians* ſtill continued under Oppreſſion, and though the external Form of Church-Government was then *Presbyterian*, which had been introduced, there was nevertheleſs an entire Liberty granted to all *Proteſtant* Sects, which the *Presbyterians* looked upon as a violent Perſecution. This State of Things in the Church continued till the Beginning of the Year 1660, when *Monk* having formed the Deſign of reſtoring the King, believed it could not be effected

without a Reſtitution of that very *Presbyterian* Parliament which had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy. This Expedient was crowned with Succeſs; and by the United-Endeavours of the *Presbyterians* and *Epiſcopalians*, the King was at laſt reſettled on the Throne. The Reſtoration of the King produced that of the Church of *England*, which found itſelf at once in almoſt the ſame Condition ſhe had been in the Year 1640. There was nevertheleſs this Difference, that, during the Troubles, the Number of the *Presbyterians* was prodigiouſly increaſed, and ſo become conſiderably more formidable than they had been under the Reign of King *James*, and the firſt Fifteen Years of *Charles* I. It was therefore the Intereſt of the Church of *England*, either to ruin entirely the *Presbyterian* Party, which might once more endanger both Church and State, or bring them into the National Church by ſome ſmall Conceſſions. For this laſt Project the Conference now mentioned ſeemed to be intended. 1660.

But theſe ſame Conferences upon Matters of Religion are ſeldom attended with any happy Succeſs: Firſt, becauſe, in order to this, the two Parties muſt be equally animated with the Spirit of Peace and Charity, which is rarely found amongſt Men, and, if I may venture to ſay, ſtill more rarely amongſt Church-men. Secondly, becauſe in theſe Conferences there is uſually a Party which is ſuperiour, and in Poſſeſſion of Power, and is therefore not very ready to throw up theſe Advantages, and reduce itſelf to an Equality. Wherefore no Succeſs is to be expected, unleſs one of the Parties will yield every thing to the other. This recalls to my Mind a Saying of a *French* Catholick, a Man of Wit, to a Miniſter after the Concluſion of the Religious War in *France*: *If*, ſaid he, *you would have come to a Compoſition with us while the Sword was in your Hand, we might have made you ſome Conceſſions; but as you are conquered, you muſt not expect that we will give you up ſo much as the Chriſtning of Bells.* The Caſe was very near the ſame in *England* at the Time I am ſpeaking of. We have ſeen how much

1661. much was yielded by *Charles* I. in the *Newport* Treaty with regard to Epiſcopacy, which if it was not entirely given up by him, was however reduced to a very ſmall Matter. But after the Reſtoration of *Charles* II, the Uſe of the *Surplice* was of too great Conſequence to Religion to be parted with. Thirdly, the Animoſity between the two Parties generally hinders the Conferences from having a happy Iſſue. The one cannot with any Temper receive Laws from the other, nor think of revoking what has been once eſtabliſhed. Fourthly, far from thinking ſeriouſly on Peace, both Parties generally lie upon the Catch to ſurprize one another. Laſtly, it too often happens that theſe Conferences are only granted by the prevailing Party to that which is under, to have it ſaid that Peace was offered, but that the contrary Party rejected it. There is Room to believe that in this Conference all theſe Circumſtances met, and therefore it ought not to ſurprize us that this had the ſame Succeſs with ſo many others of the like Nature; for in ſhort it broke off without any thing effected, and, as too commonly happens, either Party threw the Blame upon the other. Mr. *Baxter*, in his Relation of it ſays, that the Biſhops were abſolutely againſt yielding any thing. But in another Relation it is ſaid, that the *Presbyterians* were ſo obſtinately wedded to their own Opinions, that they would depart from no one Point: That upon a Propoſal made by the Biſhop of *Durham*, to deliver in writing what they thought amiſs in the *Liturgy*, they had put into their Liſt all the Articles which kept them from joining with the Church of *England*, without one Exception. They diſcovered by this their Opinion of the Sinfulneſs of all the Forms and Practices of the Church of *England*, even to the Uſe of the Surplice, and by Conſequence their Averſion to all Thoughts of an Accommodation, unleſs the other Party came entirely into their Sentiments. Theſe are the Accuſations which the two Parties mutually throw upon each other, and about which I am far from deciding any

any thing as to the Truth of the Matters of Fact. All that I can ſay, without wronging either Party, is, that the *Presbyterians* ought to have yielded ſeveral Points which are manifeſtly indifferent, and that the Biſhops ſhould have made no ſcruple to give up the ſame Points. But it might very well happen that Mens Minds were not then in a Temper for Charity and Condeſcendence. 1661.

While this Conference was depending, the King was magnificently crowned on St. *George*'s Day, the 23d of *April*. *The King crowned.*

The Parliament, which had been ſummoned for the 8th of *May*, met on the Day appointed. The Repreſentatives, for the moſt part, were returned agreeably to the Wiſhes, and without doubt, by the Influence of the Court. The greateſt Part were *High-Church-Men*, that is to ſay, zealous Enemies of the *Presbyterians*, attached to the minuteſt Points of the publick Worſhip, and devoted to the King and the Royal Prerogative. They followed exactly the Principles of *Laud* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which had brought on the Troubles in the late Reign. In a word, it may be ſaid that this was a Parliament packed by Chancellor *Hyde*, Prime-Miniſter, and on the 20th of *April* created Earl of *Clarendon*. Let us add farther, that this Parliament was called the *Penſionary Parliament*, becauſe it was afterwards diſcovered that many of the Members received *Penſions* from the Court. It is true, many will not allow that this was ſo at firſt, but pretend that the new Members ſuffered themſelves to be bribed afterwards, as the old ones were carried off by Death. I cannot however avoid remarking, that in the very Beginning this Parliament made ſome Steps in favour of the King, which no other had ever taken, and that it was only Time which brought them to retract their extravagant Maxims in favour of the Royal Prerogative. This is a Sign that the Parliament was bribed betimes, notwithſtanding what is inſinuated to the contrary. However it be, it may be judged how favourable the Parliament *A new Parliament, and how compoſed.*

1661. Parliament was to the King, since it continued near Eighteen Years, upon which account it was more justly called *the Long-Parliament*, than that which began the 3d of *November* 1640.

As there is no taking almost one Step in this Reign without meeting with the blended Interests of Religion, whether *Popery* or *Presbyterianism*, and withal, with things either directly or indirectly relating to the Royal Power, it is absolutely necessary to acquaint the Reader with some Things concerning the Historians. Without this they will never avoid falling into Difficulties, when they read in some Histories things quite contrary to what they find in others. My Design is therefore, by a few Remarks upon this Subject; First, to prevent their being, insensibly and for want of Examination, carried away with the Opinions or Prejudices of the Historians. Secondly, to incline; and Thirdly, to assist them in some Measure to make this Examination.

Remark upon the Historians of Charles II.

There are three sorts of Authors who have writ the History of this Reign. The first are those, who make Profession of being of the *High-Church* Party with regard to Religion, and who with respect to the Government are for investing the King with a Power almost unlimited, provided he is in their Interests. These are in a word what we call the *High flyers*, or *Rigid Tories*. They are good *Protestants*, but notwithstanding, much less Enemies of the *Papists* than of the *Presbyterians*. For hardly will they allow the Latter to be Christians, because they have no Bishops. Now, according to their Principles, no valid Ordination can be had without Bishops, and consequently no valid Administration of the Sacraments; from whence it follows, that *Presbyterians* baptized by Ministers unordained by Bishops, are not truly baptized.

There is another Set of Writers of this Reign, who being *Protestants*, embrace not the extravagant Principles of the Former, either with Relation to the Church or the Government. These are known by the

the Denomination of *Whiggs*, and have a Mixture of both Churchmen and *Presbyterians*. 1661.

Laſtly, there are *Popiſh* Hiſtorians, whoſe Tenets and Principles are ſufficiently known.

Each Sett has writ the Hiſtory of this Reign agreeably to their own Principles; for this Reaſon we find things praiſed and approved in one Hiſtorian, which are blamed and cenſured in another. For inſtance, with relation to this ſecond Parliament, ſome Hiſtorians openly maintain that the firſt Years Tranſactions, either for extending the Royal Power, or cruſhing the *Presbyterians*, are agreeable to Reaſon, Juſtice, and the Good of the Kingdom: but that whatever was done after the Breach with the King, was the Effect of Corruption and Cabal. Others on the contrary aſſert, that whatever was done by this Parliament either for the King or againſt the *Presbyterians*, was the Effect of an extravagant Zeal which hurried them into Meaſures hurtful to the Nation, and into an implicit Obedience to all the bad Deſigns of the Court; but that having at laſt opened their Eyes, and diſcovered the ill Uſe made by the Court of this Diſpoſition, they entered into the true Intereſts of the Kingdom, by an avowed Oppoſition to the King's Meaſures.

The *Popiſh* Hiſtorians are of the ſame Principles with the *High-flying Tories* with relation to the Government. But whereas King *Charles*'s Deſign of introducing *Popery* into *England* is very unwillingly owned by the *Tories*, the *Papiſts* on the contrary make a Merit of it, as of a Deſign very juſt and religious.

We are therefore to be prepared for theſe Contrarieties, if we read the ſeveral Hiſtories of this Reign, and are to make choice of that Scheme which appears beſt connected and beſt ſupported. For this purpoſe it will be proper to adhere only to plain Facts, without minding the frequent Inſinuations of Hiſtorians, who for the moſt part take their own Scheme for granted even in the Matters they relate. I own this is difficult: But I ſuppoſe that the Reader's Search

1661. is after Truth, which he will never come at by following blindly the first Historian which comes in his way. I have therefore thought it necessary to hint previously to him what he is to expect, and to leave him at his full Liberty to examine my Scheme with the same Freedom with which I would have him do that of others. I now return to the Parliament.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The King repairing thither the 8th of *May*, made a Speech to both Houses, in which, after something said of his great Affection for his People, he recommended to their Care two *Bills*, which he had prepared to confirm the *Act of Indemnity*. He repeated the same Words he had said to the last Parliament. Adding, that they were at liberty to take all convenient Measures for the Punishment of *new Offences*: but that he could not believe any wise Man would advise him to violate the Act of Indemnity: That he could not think any such Adviser to be his Friend, since this *Act* was only a solemn Confirmation of what he had promised when he was abroad: In fine, he communicated to them his intended Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, which had been resolved on with the Approbation of his whole Council.

He acquaints them with his Marriage.

The Chancellor's Speech.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord-Chancellor, afterwards enlarged on the Particulars touched upon in the King's Speech, but chiefly upon Two which the King had made no mention of. The first related to the seditious Sermons of certain Preachers, which tended to revive the former Animosities, and therefore ought to have their Licence suppressed. The second Point on which he insisted was the late Insurrection, which he aggravated in the strongest Expressions, intimating, that by intercepted Letters it was discovered that this was only the Prelude to a more dangerous Insurrection; and that had not the Vigilance of the Lord-Mayor prevented it, the City had been in danger of being burnt to Ashes. He did not explain himself upon the Authors of these seditious Sermons, because his Design was not to accuse this or that Person, or any particular Sect, but only

Remark on it.

to

to obtain a general Order againſt the Preachers who were not of the Church of *England*. As to the Conſpiracy diſcovered, as he pretended by a Multitude of intercepted Letters, it does not appear that any one Perſon was proſecuted in Conſequence of theſe Letters, or that it was ever proved that any, beſides *Venner* and thoſe taken with him, had any Hand in it. It is therefore manifeſt that this Speech tended only to incenſe the Parliament againſt the Sectaries or *Nonconformiſts* in general, under colour of providing for the Safety of the King and the State, on a Suppoſition that it was only from them any Danger could be apprehended. This will appear hereafter to be more than a Conjecture. 1661.

Sir *Edward Turner*, the Duke of *York*'s Sollicitor-General, being choſen *Speaker* of the Houſe of *Commons*, by the Recommendation of the Court, the two Houſes unanimouſly voted their Thanks to the King for his Gracious Communication of the Marriage, and went in a Body to congratulate him. Afterwards the Houſe of *Commons* ordered all their Members to receive the Sacrament according to the preſcribed *Liturgy*, within a certain Time, upon Pain of being expelled the Houſe.

The Commons ordered to receive the Sacrament in the Church of England.

The 20th of *May* the two Houſes jointly ordered, That the Writing called the *Solemn League and Covenant* ſhould be burnt by the Hand of the Common-Hangman; which was performed with great Triumph. Eight Days after, they paſſed another Order for the burning the following Acts. The *Act* for the erecting *a High-Court of Juſtice* for trying and judging *Charles Stuart*, &c. The *Act* for ſubſcribing the *Engagement* againſt a King and Houſe of Peers: The *Act* for declaring the People of *England* to be a *Common-wealth*, &c. The *Act* for the renouncing of *Charles Stuart*, and another for the Security of the *Protector*'s Perſon.

Several Acts burnt by the Common-Hangman.

The Zeal of the two Houſes having given the *Republicans* an Apprehenſion that the *Act of Indemnity* paſſed in the late Parliament, would not be ſufficient

1661. ficient for their Security if it was not confirmed by this; they addreſſed the King to procure this new Security; and at their Requeſt the King writ to the two Houſes the 20th of *June*, earneſtly recommending to them to paſs the *Bill* which he had prepared for that Purpoſe. He even told them in plain Terms that, let the Neceſſity of other *Bills* be what it would, he could not paſs one unleſs the *Act of Indemnity* was likewiſe preſented to him. This Letter having produced the deſired Effect, the King came to the Parliament the 10th of *July*, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the following *Acts*.

Acts. An *Act* to confirm the *Act of Indemnity* paſſed in the late Parliament.

An *Act* to impower the King to receive from his Subjects a free and voluntary Contribution for his preſent Occaſions.

After this the King made a ſhort Speech to both Houſes, to remind them of his Declaration from *Breda*, and of that which his Adherents had ſigned when his Reſtoration began to be talked of, in which they had promiſed to renounce all Memory of former Unkindneſſes, and vowed all imaginable Good-Will to each other. *Therefore*, continues he, *let it be in no Man's Power to charge me or you with Breach of our Word or Promiſe.*

Order concerning ſome Regicides. Theſe two *Acts* being diſpatched, the Parliament proceeded with Vigour to finiſh ſome others which were before them; and in particular, one for the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of Twenty One *Regicides* deceaſed, and to puniſh Three, who were ſpared as to Life, but reſerved for other Penalties. Theſe were the Lord *Monſon*, Sir *Henry Mildmay* and *Robert Wallop*. It was ordered with regard to them, that they ſhould be drawn upon Sledges with Ropes about their Necks to the Gallows at *Tybourn*, and then committed to perpetual Impriſonment.

The 30th of *July* the King came to the Parliament, and gave the Royal Aſſent to divers Acts.

1. An *Act* for the Safety and Preſervation of the King's Perſon and Government, which had Three remarkable Clauſes. 1661. *Other Acts.*

The Firſt, That if any Perſon ſhould compaſs, imagine or deſign the King's Death, Deſtruction or bodily Harm, to impriſon or reſtrain his Royal Perſon, or depoſe him; or ſhould levy War againſt him within or without his Realm, or ſtir up any Foreign Power to invade him; or ſhould declare or expreſs ſuch his wicked Intention, by Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malicious and adviſed Speaking, he ſhould, being thereof legally convicted, be adjudged a Traytor.

The Second, That if any Man ſhould maliciouſly or adviſedly publiſh or affirm his Majeſty to be a *Heretick* or a *Papiſt*, or that he endeavoured to introduce *Popery*; or ſhould ſtir up the People to Hatred or Diſlike of his Royal Perſon or Government; that every ſuch Perſon ſhould be made incapable of any Office or Employment either in Church or State.

The Third, That if any Man ſhould maliciouſly and adviſedly affirm that the Parliament, begun in *Weſtminſter* the 3d of *November* 1640, is yet in Being, or that any *Covenant* or *Engagement* ſince that Time impoſed upon the People, doth oblige them to endeavour a Change of the Government either in Church or State, or that either, or both Houſes of Parliament have a Legiſlative Power without his Majeſty, that then every ſuch Offender, being legally convicted thereof, ſhould incur the Penalties of a *Premunire* mentioned in the *Statute* of the 16th of *Richard* II.

The other Acts now paſſed were:

An *Act* to repeal the Law made in the 17th Year of *Charles* I, for the Excluſion of the Biſhops from the Houſe of Peers.

An *Act* to prevent Tumults and Diſorders committed under Colour of preparing, or preſenting Petitions to the King or Parliament.

1661. An *Act* to declare the sole Right of the *Militia* to be in the King.

An *Act* to impower His Majesty to dispose of the Land-Forces.

An *Act* for the Regulation and Government of his Majesty's Navies and Forces by Sea.

An *Act* to impose certain Pains and Penalties upon the Persons or Estates of those who had a Hand in the horrible Murder of the late King.

An *Act* for the Collection of the great Arrears of the Duty of *Excise*.

An *Act* for providing necessary Carriages for the King in all his Progresses and Removals.

After these *Acts* had received the Royal Assent, the King thanked the two Houses for them, and particularly for That which restored the Bishops to their Seats in Parliament, and that which related to the Militia. This done, he gave them leave to Adjourn to the 20th of *November*.

The Parliament adjourned.

A Convocation.

When the King called this Parliament, he had no Intention to Assemble the *Clergy* in *Convocation*, believing that the *Savoy* Conference was equivalent to a *Convocation*. But Dr. *Heylin*, in a Letter writ to a Minister of State, proved to him that this Conference ought not to hinder the meeting of the *Clergy*. He alledged, amongst other Reasons, that the *Clergy* could not be bound by the *Acts* of the *Savoy* Assembly. This was precisely what the *Presbyterian* Ministers, appointed by the King, had alledged, to shew that they had no Power to *Act* for their Brethren. This *Convocation* did nothing considerable, except that it granted the King a *Benevolence* pursuant to the *Act* mentioned above.

Affairs of Scotland.

While these Affairs were depending in *England*, they were not less active in *Scotland*. The Parliament there, meeting in *January*, began immediately with abrogating and annulling the *Solemn League* and *Covenant* of the two Kingdoms; and commanded that none of his Majesty's Subjects presume on pretence

tence of any Authority whatſoever, to require a renewing, or ſwearing to the ſaid *League* and *Covenant*, without his Majeſty's ſpecial Warrant and Approbation. 1661.

They declared the Power of the Militia to be in the King alone: That the *Act* of the 16th of *January* 1647, by which the late King had been delivered into the Hands of the *Engliſh* was infamous, diſloyal, and contrary to all Laws Divine and Humane.

Epiſcopacy was reſtored in *Scotland*, and for this Purpoſe four *Presbyterian* Miniſters, *Sharp*, *Hamilton*, *Barwell* and *Leighton* came to *London*, where, after they were *ordained Deacons* and *Prieſts*, they were conſecrated Biſhops by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with two other aſſiſting Prelates. All Four renounced their firſt *Ordination* as invalid, and before they departed for *Scotland*, obtained from the King a Declaration of his Pleaſure to reſtore in *Scotland* the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops and Biſhops, as it ſtood in the Year 1637. Purſuant to this Declaration, the Privy-Council there ſtrictly diſcharged all Eccleſiaſtical Meetings at *Synods* and *Presbyteries*, &c. till they ſhould be authorized by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops. An *Act* was alſo paſſed in the *Scotch* Parliament to prohibit all *Meetings* and *Conventicles* in private Houſes for Religious Worſhip. By another *Act* the Right of Patronage was revived. And laſtly, by another, it was ordained that all Perſons admitted to the Exerciſe of any Publick Office, ſhould ſign a ſolemn Declaration againſt the *National Covenant* in 1638, and the ſolemn *League and Covenant* in 1643, in which they declared it unlawful to Subjects upon Pretence of Reformation, or any other Pretence whatſoever, to enter into *Leagues* and *Covenants*, or take up Arms againſt the King, or thoſe commiſſioned by him.

The Marqueſs of Argyle *is beheaded at* Edinburgh.

The Marqueſs of *Argyle* having been ſent Priſoner to *Edinburgh*, was there tryed, condemned, and beheaded the 28th of *May*. Many believed that Revenge,

1661. venge, and the Avarice of ſome Perſons in Power, who hoped for the Confiſcation of his Eſtate, were Motives more prevailing for his Sentence, than any Reaſons from the Juſtice of it. A few Days before his Death, the Remains of the unfortunate Marqueſs of *Montroſs* had been ſolemnly interred, and the Head of the Marqueſs of *Argyle* was ſet up in the Place where his ſtood.

In *England* the Bodies of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle*, who were ſhot to Death at *Colcheſter*, were likewiſe honourably interred.

Complaints of the Royaliſts.

During the Receſs of the *Engliſh* Parliament, the *Cavaliers* or *Royaliſts* made great Complaints of the King's Ingratitude, for ſuffering them to periſh with Hunger, while, by the *Act of Indemnity*, he had procured to his Enemies an undiſturbed Enjoyment of immenſe Riches, acquired by diſhoneſt and illegal Practices. The City ſwarmed with Libels on this Subject. One, amongſt the reſt, writ by *L'eſtrange*, told the King theſe bold Truths with great freedom. But the King thought not proper to take any Notice of theſe Things, believing that the leaſt he could do for the Loyal Sufferers, was to grant them a Liberty of Complaint, ſince he had it neither in his Inclination nor Power to reward them.

Rumours of a Conſpiracy.

To give ſome Diverſion to theſe Complaints, the City was filled with Rumours of Plots and Conſpiracies carrying on againſt the King's Perſon and Government. But Numbers were perſwaded that this was only an Artifice to incenſe the Parliament againſt the *Nonconformiſts* in general, and the *Presbyterians* in particular, and to afford a Handle to proceed againſt them. The *Presbyterians* were always confounded with the other *Sects*, under the Denomination of *Non-Conformiſts*, who were charged with having ill-Intentions againſt the Government, though hitherto the *Presbyterians* had done nothing to deſerve the Charge; at leaſt, nothing was proved againſt them. The moſt plauſible Thing that was urged was, that the *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, and the

the reſt of the *Republicans* ſeeing that the *Presbyterians* met with no better Treatment than themſelves, formed great Deſigns, in hopes of being joined by the *Presbyterians* when Opportunity ſhould ſerve. Thus much is certain, that the Plan of the *Act of Uniformity*, which will be ſpoke of hereafter, was now formed, and that Rumours, true or falſe, of Conſpiracies, might be very uſeful to palliate the Breach of the Declaration from *Breda*, under Colour of providing for the Safety of the State. For the *Presbyterians* could not be attacked on account of their Religion, without a moſt manifeſt Violation of the King's Promiſe. 1661.

Algier Expedition proves abortive.

The Earl of *Sandwich*, Vice-Admiral, being ſent with a Fleet to *Lisbon*, to bring home the new Queen, appeared before *Algier* to make a Truce with the *Corſairs*, or reduce them to Reaſon by Force. But he found them in ſuch readineſs to receive him, that he was obliged to return to *Lisbon* without any thing done.

The Parliament meets. The King's Speech to them.

The Parliament meeting again the 20th of *November*, the King made a Speech to both Houſes, without any Neceſſity, as they had only parted by Adjournment. He gave for the Reaſon of this the Satisfaction he had in ſeeing the Biſhops reſtored to their Places in Parliament. He then prayed the Houſe of Commons "to think ſeriouſly upon the "ſettling of his Revenue, and providing for the ex-"traordinary Expences of his Navy; adding, that "he asked nothing for himſelf, any farther than as "his Intereſt was united with that of his People." He told them, "That he gave a willing Conſent to "have his laying out of the Money granted him "by Parliament examined into, provided no Re-"gard was had by them to looſe Reports ſcattered "about amongſt the People, as that he had one "Morning given away fourſcore Thouſand Pounds. "That he had much more Reaſon to be ſorry that "he had not to Reward thoſe who had ever faithfully "ſerved the King his Father and himſelf, than a-

"ſhamed

1661. "ſhamed of any Bounty he had exerciſed towards "any Man." After this he told the two Houſes, "That he was ſorry to find that the general Temper and Affections of the Nation were not ſo "well compoſed, as might have been expected after ſuch ſignal Bleſſings from God Almighty upon all, and ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions from him towards all Intereſts. That there "were many wicked Inſtruments who laboured "Night and Day to diſturb the Publick Peace, "and make all People jealous of each another. "That it was worthy of their Care and Vigilance "to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of "that kind; that if they found new Diſeaſes, they "muſt ſtudy new Remedies: That theſe Difficulties which concerned Religion were too hard for "him, and therefore he recommended them to their "Care and Deliberation who could beſt provide "for them."

Remarks upon this Speech.

When the King publiſhed his Declaration at *Breda*, and expreſſed ſo much Zeal for the paſſing an *Act of Indemnity* agreeably to this Declaration, he did not think it out of his Power to give a poſitive Promiſe that no Perſon ſhould be moleſted on account of his Religion. But in all appearance, after the Elections of Members for this new Parliament, in Favour of the *High-Church*, had ſucceeded according to the Deſires of the Miniſtry, it was ſuggeſted to the King, that the beſt Expedient to obtain whatever he deſired, would be to give up the *Non-Conformiſts* a Sacrifice to the Parliament. It is not at all ſurprizing that a Prince of his Character, who had ſecretly embraced the *Roman Catholick* Religion, or, to ſpeak more properly, had no Religion at all, ſhould not think his Honour a ſufficient Tie upon him to ſupport the *Presbyterians*, when he was in danger by it to loſe the Affection of his Parliament. One ſees him therefore in the Concluſion of this Speech begin to ſhift, and by talking in general of Perſons who were labouring to trouble the Peace of

the Kingdom, furniſh his Parliament with a Pretence of treating the *Non-Conformiſts* with Rigour, as Diſturbers of the Publick Tranquility. As to Religion, he leaves the Care of it to the Parliament, as of a Thing above his Capacity. By this he departs abſolutely from his *Breda* Declaration, and the *Act of Indemnity*, which he had till now laid ſo great a Streſs upon. 1661.

The Preſbyterians perſecuted.

This Speech was, as it were, the Signal to the Perſecution, which, immediately after, broke out againſt the *Non-Conformiſts*, and particularly the *Preſbyterians*, who, properly ſpeaking, were ſolely aimed at. We ſhall ſee preſently, that upon Rumours ſpread Abroad of Conſpiracies forming againſt the State by the *Non-Conformiſts*, without diſtinction of any particular Sect of them, *Acts* were made which manifeſtly deſtroyed the *Breda* Declaration, as well as that which the *Royaliſts* had publiſhed, when the King's Reſtoration was in Hand.

I ſhall give my Reader, in few Words, the Subſtance of what was alledged in Support of this Perſecution. It is true, ſay the Favourers of it, that the King generouſly pardoned the Offences committed before this Declaration: But he did not promiſe to Pardon ſuch as ſhould be afterwards committed. Now ſince the Time that the King has been reſtored, the *Non-Conformiſts* have been engaged in Plots to diſturb the Government. It is therefore Neceſſary to take all poſſible and proper Meaſures to put it out of their Power to execute their Deſigns. In Anſwer to this Argument, it is not neceſſary to urge the ſlender Foundation of theſe pretended Plots, for which no one Perſon was ever either puniſhed or proſecuted. It is ſufficient to remark that it ſuppoſes, what is entirely diſtant from the Truth, that the *Non-Conformiſts* made but one and the ſame Body, becauſe their Enemies had been pleaſed to beſtow one common Name upon them. Nevertheleſs, upon this Suppoſition, ſo notoriouſly falſe, the Government believed it had a Right to deprive the *Sects* in general

1661. general, and the *Presbyterians* in particular of the Benefit of the Declaration from *Breda*, only becauſe their Enemies had pleaſed to confound them with *Independents* and *Enthuſiaſts*, under the ſame Appellation of *Non-Conformiſts*. I cannot think it neceſſary to ſay any more to expoſe the Weakneſs of this Reaſoning, which nevertheleſs was ſtrong enough for Men who had the Power in their Hands.

Petition of the Parliament. To prepare the Way for the deſigned Alteration, which had no other Pretence than Rumours of an imaginary Conſpiracy, the Parliament judged it convenient to ſupport theſe Rumours by a Petition to the King for a Proclamation, to order all Officers and disbanded Soldiers to depart twenty Miles from the City of *London*. It was natural to infer from this that there were Grounds for Fear, and that was the Thing aimed at by the Proclamation.

A Supply granted to the King. The ſame Day the *Commons* voted the King a Supply of twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds for his preſent Occaſions, that is to ſay, for his diſpoſal in what manner he pleaſed. This was the firſt Fruits of his Condeſcendance with regard to his Declaration from *Breda*.

Some Regicides called before the Parliament. Afterwards the Parliament reſumed the Affair of the 19 *Regicides*, who had voluntarily come in upon the Proclamation of the 6th of *June*, and yet had been ſentenced to Death. It was asked of them what they had to ſay why Judgement ſhould not be executed upon them. They alledged the King's Proclamation on which they had relied, believing that it was his Intention to pardon them. But this did not prevent a *Bill* to be brought in for the ordering their Execution, which had two Readings, but was then dropped, probably from the King's powerful Sollicitation in favour of the condemned, who could not have been executed without great Prejudice done both to his Honour and Honeſty.

The Chancellor ſupports the Rumour of the Plot. I have before ſaid that the Rumour of Conſpiracies was abſolutely neceſſary for a Foundation to what was afterwards to follow. The Earl of *Clarendon* had

had ſpoke of this in the Cloſe of the late Parliament, and the King had made ſome mention of it in the opening of this. To ſtrike the Blow home, the Earl of *Clarendon*, at a Conference between the two Houſes, affirmed poſitively, that there was a real Conſpiracy, formed ſince laſt *March*, to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom. He named ſeveral Perſons engaged in it, and gave an exact Account of the Manner how it was to have been executed. He ſaid, That though the Deſign ſeemed diſconcerted and broke, ſo far as it related to the City, whither the Officers and disbanded Soldiers had been invited to repair the 11th of the preſent Inſtant *December*, it was nevertheleſs ſtill purſued in the Country. The Lords upon this Information named a Committee of Twelve of their own Houſe, to whom they deſired the *Commons* to add a proportionable Number of theirs, to examine into this horrible Conſpiracy, that the Execution of it might be prevented, and the Peace of the Kingdom ſecured. 1661.

Certainly it cannot but appear ſtrange to all, who are not prejudiced by Paſſion or Party, that a Conſpiracy known ſo well to the Court in all its Circumſtances, with the Perſons engaged in it; the Day of its deſigned Execution in *London*, the Endeavours ſtill uſed to haſten it in the Country, and ſo many intercepted Letters relating to it; that this Conſpiracy, I ſay, which was examined before a numerous Committee of both Houſes, ſhould not be attended with the Deaths of ſome of the Accomplices, nor even one ſingle Perſon accuſed and proſecuted. It was nevertheleſs upon this alone, that the *Corporation Act*, of which I am going to ſpeak, and every Thing afterwards done againſt the *Non-Conformiſts* were built. *A Remark upon this Subject.*

The 20th of *December* the King came to the Parliament, and paſſed the two following *Acts*:

An *Act* to grant the King twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, for his preſent Occaſions, to be levied *Acts.*

by

1661. by a Monthly Tax of Seventy Thouſand Pounds, for Eighteen Months.

An *Act* for regulating *Corporations*.

This *Act*, which was called the *Corporation-Act* ran, That in Order to have the Succeſſion in Corporations perpetuated in the Hands of Perſons well-affected to the Government, it was ordained that every Mayor, Alderman, Common-Council-Man, or any other Officer in a *Corporation* ſhould be obliged, beſides the common Oath of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and a particular Declaration againſt the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to take an Oath declaring, *That it was not lawful* upon *any* Pretence *whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King*; *and that he did abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his* Authority *againſt his* Perſon, *or againſt thoſe* commiſſioned *by him*.

Oath injoined by the Corporation Act.

A Remark. If the Oath had imparted that it is not lawful under any Pretence to take up Arms againſt the eſtabliſhed Government, there had been nothing in it extraordinary. But in this Oath the King is ſuppoſed to be ſole Maſter of the Government, which is manifeſtly falſe, ſince he can neither make nor repeal a Law but in Conjunction with the Parliament, and conſequently the Sovereign Authority does not reſide in him alone. This Suppoſition was exactly like that of the Parliament in the Year 1640, that the Supreme Authority reſided in the People, or their Repreſentatives in Parliament, the Abſurdity of which Opinion was expoſed by *Charles* I, in almoſt every one of his *Papers*. They are both equally falſe, and to ſhow that the People of *England* do not think them true. We need only take notice of the abſurd Conſequences deduced from them, and which have been rejected by the *Engliſh* on all Occaſions; by the Maxim of the Parliament in 1640, that Parliament believed it ſelf impowered to aboliſh Monarchy, and change the eſtabliſhed Religion. By the Oath here in queſtion, *James* II believed himſelf impowered to bring in a new Religion, and to eſtabliſh an abſolute Power.

Power. But the *Engliſh* Nation thought themſelves bound by neither the one nor the other of theſe extravagant Maxims. *Charles* II was reſtored in ſpight of the Deciſion of the Parliament of 1640, and *James* II was drove from his Throne in ſpight of the Deciſion of this Parliament which had ordered the Oath we are ſpeaking of, even with the Concurrence of the King to ſupport it. It is an impracticable Thing to fix the Degree of Obedience due from the People of *England* to the King or Parliament, when they claſh with one another. The Reaſon is evident, which is no other than that the Eſſence of the Government conſiſts in their Union. It is in the King and Parliament united together, that the Sovereign Power, neceſſary to all Governments is lodged. Wherefore to ſay that *upon any Pretence or Reaſon whatſoever* it is not lawful to reſiſt the King or the Parliament, is, properly ſpeaking, to deliver up the Liberties of the Nation to the Mercy of the one or the other. The *High-Churchmen*, of which this Parliament was principally compoſed, had then extraordinary Ideas of the Royal Authority. And I know not whether they have yet entirely dropped them. But it is certain that a great many of them at laſt opened their Eyes, and ſaw the dangerous Conſequences of their own Maxims, and that even this Parliament did not think fit to admit them all as will afterwards be ſeen. 1660.

After theſe *Acts* were paſſed, the Parliament was adjourned to the 10th of *January*.

Elizabeth Stuart Daughter of *James* I, Electreſs *Palatine*, and Queen of *Bohemia*, dyed at *London* the 13th of *February**. *Death of the Queen of* Bohemia.

The Parliament being met the 10th of *January*, the firſt Thing the Lords did was to hear the Report of the Committee appointed to examine into the Conſpiracy 1661-2. *Report of the Conſpiracy made by the Chancellor.*

* She was interred in *Weſtminſter*-Abbey in the ſame Vault with Prince *Henry* her Brother. She had ſeven Sons and five Daughters, of whom the youngeſt ſurviving, the Princeſs *Sophia*, was declared Heir to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

1661-2. ſpiracy ſuppoſed to have been in Agitation now almoſt a Year, and yet hitherto without any Effect. The Earl of *Clarendon*, who made the Report ſays, that two Perſons, namely, *Wildman* and *Salmon* were particularly engaged in this Plot, and that a Liſt of one Hundred and forty Officers of the late Army had been found upon the latter; that it was further diſcovered, that the Conſpirators were to have had a Meeting at *London* the 10th of *December* laſt, and had formed a Deſign to make themſelves Maſter of *Shrewsbury*, *Coventry*, and *Briſtol*, by the End of *January*: That at whatever Place they ſhould happen to be moſt powerful, they were to begin by horrible Aſſaſſinations, and that one of them had reported, that the fugitive Judges of the late King were entertained in *France*, *Holland*, and *Germany*: That they held a ſtrict Correſpondence with the *Engliſh* Conſpirators, and were encouraged by foreign Princes: That they had bought a large Quantity of Arms, and boaſted that if they could once ſet Foot in *England*, they ſhould not want Means to carry on their Work. That this had been diſcovered by one of the Accomplices, and confirmed by ſuch ſecret Advices as never failed. That Numbers of Perſons had aſſembled at *Huntington*, and rode about that Town in the Night, to the great Terrour of his Majeſty's good Subjects: That one might be aſtoniſhed that no Propoſals had yet been made to remedy the impending Miſchiefs: But that the King after having conferred with the Duke of *Albemarle*, had ordered two Troops of Horſe to *Shrewsbury*, and as many to *Coventry*, and that in their way theſe Troops had diſperſed a great Company of Robbers, and taken Twenty: That a Report was ſpread, that the Appointing of this Committee was only an Artifice of the Court to have a Pretence of governing by an Army; but that the Committee was very ſenſible of the Reality of the Danger, and he hoped the two Houſes would be ſo too: That ſince their Enemies were all united for their

their Deſtruction, they ought likewiſe to be united for their own Preſervation. 1661-2.

When it is conſidered that after a ſtrict Inquiry into this Conſpiracy by a numerous Committee of both Houſes, the whole amounted only to a Liſt of one Hundred and forty Officers, found upon one Man without any other Circumſtance relating to the Conſpirators not named, to the ſecret Advices that never failed, to a Company of Men gathered about *Huntington* in the Night, no Man knew why; that not one of theſe pretended Conſpirators, who might have been known by one or other Diſcoverer of the whole Conſpiracy, was either puniſhed or proſecuted for this ſuppoſed Crime; that in ſhort the Noiſe of this Conſpiracy was huſhed at once after the *Uniformity Act* had paſſed: When theſe Things, I ſay, are conſidered, one cannot help thinking that it was only a pure Fiction, to give ſome Colour to this *Act*. The Government durſt not attack the *Presbyterians* directly on account of their Religion. The Declaration from *Breda* was too expreſs upon that Article. But they are to be charged with the guilt of new Crimes, to have a Pretence for depriving them of the Benefit of this Declaration. They were not even accuſed of any Attempt to diſturb the State, ſince the King's Reſtoration; But the *Non-Conformiſts* in general were accuſed in order to make the *Presbyterians* ſuffer, as if they were one and the ſame with *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Enthuſiaſts*, becauſe to all theſe *Sects* was given the common Name of *Nonconformiſts*. *A Remark upon this Subject.*

The 1ſt of *March* the King ſent for the *Commons* to *Whitehall*, and reproached them, but in a civil and genteel Manner, with having done nothing towards the ſettling of his Revenues. He artfully inſinuated that the late Troubles had principally been owing to the Poverty of the Crown, hinting thereby that this had obliged his Father to ſtretch the Royal Prerogative. He added, that there was ſtill in the Kingdom a *Republican*-Party, which waited for a ſecond Revolution, that therefore the only way to render their *The King's Speech to the* Commons.

1661-2. Designs abortive, was to enable the Crown to support its own Dignity, and protect the Subject. He then continued his Speech thus.

GENTLEMEN,

"I Hear you are very zealous for the Church, and very sollicitous, and even jealous, that there is not Expedition enough used in that Affair. I thank you for it, since I presume it proceeds from a good Root of Piety and Devotion: But I must tell you, I have the worst luck in the World, if after the Reproaches of being a *Papist* while I was abroad, I am suspected of being a *Presbyterian* now I am come home. I know you will not take it unkindly, if I tell you I am as zealous for the Church of *England*, as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides; that I am as much in Love with the Book of *Common-Prayer* as you can wish, and have Prejudice enough to those who do not love it, who, I hope, will in Time be better informed, and change their Minds; and you may be confident I do as much desire to see an *Uniformity* settled as any amongst you. I pray trust me in that Affair: I promise you to hasten the Dispatch of it with all convenient speed; you may rely upon me in it. I have transmitted the Book of *Common-Prayer*, with those Alterations and Additions, which have been presented to me by the *Convocation*, to the House of *Peers*, with my Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity* may relate to it *. So that I presume

* There were added some new Collects, as the Prayer for all Conditions of Men, the general Thanksgiving, and the Prayer for the High-Court of Parliament, and a new Office was made for Baptism of such as were of riper Years, and two more, one for the 30th of *January*, the other for the 29th of *May*. In the Collect for the Parliament, the King was stiled, *our most religious King*, an *Epithet* that gave great Offence, and occasioned much indecent Raillery.

"presume it will be shortly dispatched there: And "when we have done all we can, the well settling of "that Affair will require great Prudence and Discre- "tion, and the Absence of all Passion and Precipi- "tation." 1661-2.

The King's Design in this last part of his Speech was to have the Execution of the *Act of Uniformity* when it should be passed, left entirely to himself, that he might have it in his Power to dispense with whom he pleased. This he afterwards discovered in Words more clear and precise, nevertheless the Parliament would not grant his Desire.

Act against the Quakers.

The *Commons* being returned to their House prepared several *Bills*, and amongst the rest one against the *Quakers*, on account of their Refusal to take the Oaths. This proceeded not from a Belief that they were by this Refusal freed from the Obligations imposed by these Oaths; but from an Opinion which they entertained that those in general were unlawful. This *Act* and another for the repairing of the Streets and High-ways in and about *London* were passed by Commission.

At last, on the 19th of *May* the King coming to the Parliament, gave his Assent to divers *Acts*, of which I shall only take notice of the most important.

Other Acts

An *Act* for the *Uniformity* of Publick Prayers, and the Administration of the Sacraments.

An *Act* for the better regulating and ordering the standing Forces of the Nation.

An *Act* for laying a perpetual and annual Tax of two Shilling on every Chimney-Hearth in each House, Alms-Houses excepted.

An *Act* to impower his Majesty to levy for the next ensuing three Years, a Tax of Seventy Thou-

Raillery. Some new Holy-days were added also, as St. *Barnabas*, and the Conversion of St. *Paul*, and more Lessons were taken in out of the *Apocrypha*, particularly the Story of *Bell* and the *Dragon*.

1661-2. ſand Pounds *per* Month, if Neceſſity ſhall ſo require.

Moreover the Houſe of *Commons* ordered the ſixty Thouſand Pounds remaining over and above the Sum of twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, granted by a former *Act*, to be diſtributed to the poor *Cavaliers*, who had been Sufferers in the late Troubles.

After the paſſing of theſe *Acts*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 18th of *February*.

Amongſt theſe *Acts* three are particularly remarkable.

Act of Uniformity

By the *Act of Uniformity*, every Miniſter was obliged to conform to the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, as ſet forth in the Book of *Common-Prayer* lately reviſed, upon Pain of loſing all his Eccleſiaſtical Preferments: This he was to do before the Feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* next, which gave this *Act* the Name of the *Bartholomew* Act. Every Miniſter was likewiſe obliged to ſign the following Declaration. *I do hereby declare my unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every Thing contained and preſcribed in and by the Book intituled, the Book of Common-Prayer*, &c. Beſides this, every Miniſter was obliged to ſign a Declaration contained in the *Militia Act*, in which Declaration he was not only to conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, but likewiſe to renounce the *ſolemn League and Covenant*, declaring it to be *an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm againſt the known Laws and Liberties of the People.*

The Penalties annexed to this *Act* were many, particularly this-----*No Perſon ſhould be capable of any Benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, before he be ordained Prieſt by Epiſcopal Ordination, upon Pain to forfeit for every Offence the Sum of one Hundred Pounds.*

Remarks upon this Act.

I ſhall make but three Obſervations upon this *Act*, The firſt ſhall be in the very Words of the Declaration from *Breda*. *And becauſe the Paſſion and Uncharitableneſs of the Times have produced ſeveral Opinions in Religion, by which Men are ingaged in Parties and Animoſities*

moſities againſt each other, which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Converſation, will be compoſed or better underſtood; we do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted or called in queſtion for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we ſhall be as ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, *as upon mature Deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the full granting that Indulgence.* 1662.

Let any Man compare this Clauſe with the *Act of Uniformity*, and he will eaſily ſee what care the Miniſters about the King, who were the real Authors or Promoters of this *Act*, had of his Honour, and what regard he payed to his own Promiſe. Notwitſtanding all this, ſome did then and do now conſider this *Act* as the great Support and Bulwark of the Church of *England*; and honour the Authors of it as of an heroick Action, deſerving the everlaſting Praiſes and Bleſſings of the Church; whilſt others perhaps, no leſs ſincerely attached to the Church of *England*, looked upon it as her Diſgrace and Scandal.

My ſecond Remark is, that to this amounted the Promiſes made to the *Presbyterians* by the King's Party, upon the Aſſurance of which they had ſo chearfully laboured for his Reſtoration, and followed the Directions tranſmitted by his Friends.

My third Remark is, that by an Artifice the moſt groſs, Conſpiracies were invented which had no manner of Reality; or ſuppoſing they had, could no way be charged to the *Presbyterians*, who were not to anſwer for the Crimes of other *Sects*.

It will perhaps be thought that I am a *Presbyterian*, my Sentiments in this Affair are ſwayed by Intereſt and Paſſion. But I do proteſt that I have always had, and do ſtill retain, a profound Reſpect and great Veneration for the Church of *England*, with which I communicated during my Reſidence there, and ſhould be ready ſo to do if I was to return thither. But this does not oblige me to conſider all the Members of that Church as free from Failing, Paſſions and Prejudices;

1662. judices; especially on the present Occasion, when, as an Historian, Truth requires of me to make appear clearly so material a Point of History, as this unfair Dealing with the *Presbyterians*. For at their Ruin it was that the *Uniformity Act* was principally aimed. *

The Act which related to the *Militia*, intituled, *An Act for the better regulating and ordering the standing Forces of the Nation*, contained amongst others the following Clause,

Militia Act. *Forasmuch as within all his Majesty's Realms and Dominions, the sole and supreme Power, Government, Command and Disposition of the Militia, and of all Forces by Sea and Land, and of all Forts and Places of Strength, is, and by the Laws of* England *ever was, the undoubted Right of his Majesty, and his Royal Predecessors, Kings and Queens of* England; *and that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot or ought not to pretend to the same; nor can, nor lawfully may raise, or levy any War offensive or defensive against his Majesty, his Heirs or lawful Successors*, &c.

An Oath enjoined. It was ordained by this Act that all Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, Officers and Soldiers, should take the following Oath: —— *I do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Position, That Arms may be taken by his* Authority *against his* Person, *or against those that are* commissioned by him, *in pursuance of such military Commissions.*

When in the latter Part of the Oath the Words *commissioned by him* came to be debated in the House of

* *Burnet* observes, that the Favourers of *Popery*, among whom he reckons the King, thought a *Toleration* was the only Method for setting it a going all over the Nation. And nothing could make a Toleration for Popery pass, but the having great Bodies of Men put out of the Church, and under severe Laws which should force them to move for a *Toleration*, and make it reasonable to grant it them, *p.* 179.

of *Commons*, a great Lawyer * moved, that the Word *lawfully* might be added to make all clear. But the Attorney-General Sir *Heneage Finch* anſwered, "That "it was not neceſſary, for the very Word *Commiſ-* "*ſion* imported it; ſince if it was not *lawfully* iſſued "out to *lawful* Perſons, and for a *lawful* Reaſon, it "was no *Commiſſion*". And the whole Houſe aſ-ſented to this Interpretation. The ſame Difficulty was ſtarted in the Houſe of Lords *1, and removed in the ſame manner *2. But granting that by *commiſ-ſioned* could be only meant *lawfully commiſſioned*, where would have been the Harm to have added the Word *lawfully*, in order to take away all Obſcurity, if the Parliament intended to put any Reſtriction upon the *Royal Power?* 1662.

Suppoſe now that the King inveſted with ſuch Power had attempted the abrogating all the antient, to ſubſtitute new Laws at his Pleaſure; the aboliſh-ing the Uſe of Parliaments, and forcing his Subjects to embrace the *Popiſh* Religion; which way could they have maintained their Liberties and Religion, ſince there was no higher Authority to call the King to Account, and ſince by this Oath it was High-Trea-ſon to take Arms againſt him *upon any Pretence what-ſoever?* Theſe are the ordinary Effects of Factions in the State. Each Party when uppermoſt, are only in-tent upon acting in direct Oppoſition to what the o-ther have done, without troubling themſelves with the Conſequences, and moſt commonly both Parties run into extremes. The Parliament of the Year 1640 incenſed againſt *Charles* I, for attempting to enlarge his Prerogative, were not content with re-ſtraining him within due Bounds, but claimed alſo ſuch Privileges as were inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution, and proceeded at laſt ſo far as entirely to deſtroy the

* Sir *John Vaughan*. He offered many Inſtances of the Law-Books to ſhew, "That it was lawful in many Caſes to take up "Arms againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by the King."

*1 By the Earl of *Southampton*.

*2 By the Earl of *Angleſey*.

1662. Monarchy. The Parliament of 1661 not satisfied with restoring the King to his just Rights, invested him with an unlimited Power, and rendered him as absolute as any Monarch in the Universe.

Chimny Act. The annual Tax of Two Shillings upon every Fire-Hearth, not only to this King for his Life, but to his Successors for ever, shewed that this Parliament was not swayed by a bare Motive of Zeal and Affection for the reigning King, but seemed moreover to have an Intention of putting the Kings of *England* in a Condition to support themselves without Parliaments, by so great a Power conferred on them. And indeed, this single Tax brought in the King yearly Two Hundred and Fifty-six Thousand Pounds. This, together with Tonnage and Poundage *Excise*, and other Duties upon Merchandize, raised the King's Revenues to double of what his Predecessors had enjoyed; such were the Fears this Parliament had of being wanting in their Zeal for Monarchy, which had, for so many Years, met with so unworty Treatment.

The Q's Arrival; The Session of Parliament being ended, the Thoughts of the Court were wholly turned to the Reception of the new Queen, who was expected every Day. She had left *Lisbon* the 23d of *April*, but reached not *Portsmouth* before the 21st of *May*, whither the King went to receive her. A Report was spread and encouraged, that the Marriage had been solemnized by *Shelden* Bishop of *London*. But some, who believed themselves better informed, said that the Queen refused to be married by any other than a *Catholick* Priest; that the King consented, and that very few Persons were present at the Solemnity *. This Marriage had been proposed by *D. Francisco de Mello* the

and Marriage.

* *Burnet* says, when *Shelden* came to perform the Ceremony, she would not say the Words of Matrimony, nor bear the Sight of the Bishop. The King said the Words hastily, and the Bishop pronounced them married Persons. But the Duke of *York* told *Burnet*, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny*, according to the *Roman* Ritual, the Duke being one of the Witnesses. *p.* 74.

the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, to General *Monk*, at the time that he was labouring the King's Reſtoration. The Ambaſſador's View was to procure to the Crown of *Portugal* a powerful Aſſiſtance from that of *England*, ſince by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, the King his Maſter had no farther Expectations from *France*. To prevail with *Monk*, and, through him, with the King, he engaged that the King of *Portugal* ſhould give the Princeſs his Siſter a Portion of Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, the Town of *Tangier* upon the Coaſt of *Africk*, and the Iſle of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Monk*, pleaſed with theſe Offers, propoſed this Marriage to the King immediately after his Arrival. The King approved of it, and accordingly it was concluded in the Year 1661. Some pretend that Chancellor *Hyde* oppoſed the Marriage with all his Power, from an Information that the Princeſs of *Portugal*, by ſome natural Infirmity, was incapable of having any Children; but that the King took this for an Artifice of the Court of *Spain* to prevent a Marriage, which could not but prove prejudicial to its great Deſigns upon *Portugal*. Others again have made the Chancellor the chief Contriver of this Match. Before the Conſummation of the Marriage, the King in a Treaty with *Portugal* had engaged to aſſiſt that Kingdom againſt *Spain*, and in the 19th Article of the Treaty, obliged himſelf never to reſtore *Dunkirk* to that Crown. 1662.

Arrival of the Queen-Mother.

When this Marriage was compleated, the Queen-Mother arrived in *England**, with deſign, as it ſeemed, to ſpend there the Remainder of her Days. The King aſſigned *Somerſet-Houſe* for her Reſidence, and furniſhed her with Money ſufficient to keep a ſplendid and magnificent Court. But ſhe did not, it ſeems, find in *England*, all the Satisfaction ſhe expected, for after a Reſidence of Three Years, ſhe returned back into *France*.

The

* With the Earl of St. *Albans* and others.

1662. *The Sale of* Dunkirk.

The most considerable Transaction at the *English* Court, in the remaining Part of this Year, was the Sale of *Dunkirk*. The King looked upon this Place as his Property, since it had been surrendred to *Cromwell* by *France*, in Consideration of the Succours which she had received from him in her War with *Spain*. Whether this Reason was good or not, it is certain that the King believed he had a Power to dispose of the Town as he thought fit. The two Years large Supplies granted him by Parliament were all consumed, and his Coffers empty, though his extraordinary Occasions had been only the Payment of the disbanded Army, and of the Arrears due to the Fleet. Whatever were the King's Motives to part with this important Place, he resolved to sell it to *France*, which was very willing to be the Purchaser. The Negotiation for this Sale began in *July* this Year, and ended the following *October*. The King's first Demand was Twelve Millions of *Livres*, and the Count *d'Estrades*, who managed this Affair for *Louis* XIV, offered only Fifteen Hundred Thousand. This prodigious Difference between the Price demanded and the Sum offered, was the sole Subject of the Negotiation. Each Party feigned to be unwilling to receed from his Offer, though both were equally impatient, the one to sell and the other to purchase, and well know each others Intentions. *Charles* told the Count *d'Estrades* by his Chancellor, that Four Methods were proposed to him for the Disposal of *Dunkirk*. The first was, to surrender it to the King of *Spain*, who offered him what Price he would please to demand. The second was, to treat with the *Dutch*, who offered him immense Sums. The third was, to put it into the Hands of the Parliament, which would be at the Charge of maintaining the Garrison, without any Diminution to the King's Pretensions as Sovereign. The fourth, which appeared most just to him, and most suitable to his Interests, was to sell it to the King of *France*. There was still a fifth Expedient proposed by the Earl

of

of *Sandwich*, which was to demoliſh the Place, and fill up the Harbour, to render it entirely uſeleſs. 1662.

The King of *France* anſwered, That he doubted much the Offer of the *Spaniards*, who had not yet been able to pay the Portion of the Queen his Wife, though upon the Payment of that depended the Validity of her Renunciation: That it would be more advantagious for the King of *England* to make a free Gift of the Place to the *Spaniards*, than to draw Twenty Millions from the *Dutch*, a Sum which they could not aſſuredly pay. And as to delivering it into the Hands of the Parliament, the King knew better than himſelf the Danger of enlarging their Power.

In ſhort, *Charles* ſunk to a Demand of Seven Millions of *Livres*, and the Count *d'Eſtrades* offered him Two, then Two and a Half, and at laſt he roſe to Three. But the King his Maſter had given him a Power to make an Offer of Four Millions, at the very time that *Charles* conſented to part with the Place for Five. The King of *France* was obliged to come up to his Price, when he knew that Five Millions was the laſt Offer which would be made him, and that he was in danger to miſs his Market, if he ſtood out any longer. Another Difficulty ſtill aroſe with relation to the Time of Payment. The King of *England* was for having all the Money at once upon the Delivery of the Place, and the King of *France* for paying it at ſeveral times. At laſt it was ſettled that he ſhould pay one half down, upon taking Poſſeſſion of the Place, and the other half in two Years at two ſeveral Payments.

Dr. *Burnet* in the Hiſtory of his own Times, ſays, that *Charles* laviſhly ſpent the Money, which he received for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, in Preſents to his Miſtreſſes. Others have aſſured us, that with one Part he diſcharged his Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*'s Dowry, and with the other aſſiſted the Crown of *Portugal*.

The

1662. The Motives alledged by the *Chancellor* to the Count *d'Eſtrades*, to let him ſee the Neceſſity the King was under to ſell *Dunkirk*, were, that, his Coffers being empty, he had no other way left to put himſelf in a Condition to aſſiſt *Portugal*. But in *England* this Reaſon was not to be urged, becauſe all the World knew what vaſt Sums the King had received from the Parliament. To cover therefore the Diſhonour of this Sale, it was pretended that the Garriſon and Repairs of the Fortifications coſt the King immenſe Sums to no purpoſe; that *the Sea was ſo tempeſtuous, and the Grounds ſo rowling upon every Storm, that there would never remain a certain Steerage to that Port* *. On this Occaſion ſeveral *Pamphlets* were writ, ſome to lay before the Publick the Injury done to the Nation in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and others to palliate it, or to ſhew the Neceſſity of it: but the greateſt Diſpute aroſe from theſe two Queſtions, whether the Propoſal came from *France* or *England*? And whether the Earl of *Clarendon*, as he was then generally accuſed, was the Author and Promoter of this Sale, or, as ſome then pretended, and as many ſtill do, proteſted he would have no Hand in it? I find that Mr. *Echard* in his Hiſtory of *England*, and Dr. *Burnet* in that of his own Times, entirely clear the Chancellor from all Blame in this Affair. It is nevertheleſs a Fact as certain as one of this Nature can be, that the Earl of *Clarendon* made the firſt Propoſal of the Sale, negotiated and brought it to a Concluſion. To prove the Truth of this, I need only quote ſome Extracts from the Letters of the Count *d'Eſtrades*, who had the Care of this Negotiation, and conſequently knew more of this Matter than any other Perſon.

* Theſe were the Words of the Earl of *Sandwich* according to *Echard*. *Burnet* ſays Count *Schomberg*, who was lately come into *England*, adviſed, in Oppoſition to all this, that the King ſhould keep it, for, conſidering the naval Power of *England*, it could not be taken. But he was ſingular in his Opinion. *Clarendon* ſaid he knew nothing of thoſe Matters, but appealed to *Monk*'s Judgement, who was for ſelling it. *p.* 173.

Perſon. It muſt however be ſaid in Excuſe of Mr. *Echard* and Dr. *Burnet*, that when they writ this part of their Hiſtories, the Count *d'Eſtrades*'s Letters, which give an account of the *Dunkirk* Negotiation, were not yet publiſhed, and that thoſe Hiſtorians knew no more of this Affair, than what they had received from the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Friends. 1662.

The Count *d'Eſtrades*, being Ambaſſador at *London* in the Year 1662, had ſecretly agreed with the King, that the *French* King ſhould ſupply him with a certain Sum of Money to enable him to aſſiſt *Portugal*. But this was to be kept very ſecret becauſe of the *Pyrenean* Treaty, by which *Lewis* had ſolemnly engaged to give no Aſſiſtance to *Portugal* either directly or indirectly. This Secret nevertheleſs took Air, and occaſioned a Letter from *Lewis* to the Count *d'Eſtrades*, dated the 4th of *March*, in which are theſe words:—— *You may tell the King of* England *that what is known here of the Money of* Havre, *came from* Fox *himſelf, who has not been very careful to keep the Secret. This was partly the Cauſe of all the ſenſeleſs Verſe made in* Paris, *which doubtleſs muſt have reached* London, *that I am treating for* Dunkirk *with the ſaid King for a Sum of Money, in order to exchange that Place with the King of* Spain *for* Cambray, *or* Aire, *and St.* Omer. *You know better than any Perſon whether I had ever the leaſt thought of it.*

It is by no Means unlikely that this Inſinuation begot in *Charles* the Thought of ſelling *Dunkirk* to *France*; but the Sale was not ſpoke of till ſome Months after. The Count *d'Eſtrades* being returned into *France* in *April* this Year, was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *Holland*. But as he was on the Way thither, he received a Letter from the King of *England*, dated the 17th of *July*, to deſire him to take a Tour to *London*, where he wanted to communicate to him an Affair propoſed by the Chancellor. The Count *d'Eſtrades*, by Leave from his Maſter, went to *London*, and there received from him a Letter, in which he told him, ----- *You may gueſs with*

1662. *with what impatience I expect the Arrival of your Dispatch, which is to inform me of the Subject on which the King of* Great Britain *desired to speak with you, and which diverted you from your Journey into* Holland *to make a* Tour *to* London, *&c.*

As all the other Letters, till the Month of *October*, show that this single Negotiation took up the Count *d' Estrades*'s whole Time during his Stay at *London*, there is no room to doubt that the first Proposition, for the Sale of *Dunkirk*, came from the *English* Court. The Hand which the Earl of *Clarendon* had in this Affair appears clearly, from a Letter of the 17th of *August*, writ by the Count *d' Estrades* to the King his Master, wherein he gives him an account of a Conference which he had with the Earl of *Clarendon*. These are his Words:

The Chancellor added, that the Thought of this Treaty came from him: He made no Scruple to declare that the Necessity of the English *Affairs put it into his Head: That the King, the Duke of* York, *and himself, were single in this Opinion, and that* Monk, *the Lord-Treasurer, and the Earl of* Sandwich *were still to be managed, whom he could not hope to gain by any other Consideration, than that of the great Sums which would accrue to the King: That having already made the Proposal to them, founded on the urgent Occasions of the State, they had offered an Expedient to preserve the Place for the King, and make him a Reparation for this Expence.---I ought not to omit letting your Majesty know, that the Chancellor hinted to me that the King had Precautions to observe with the Queen his Mother on this Affair: That for this Purpose the King told the Queen, that his sending for me into* England, *was to pray my Application to your Majesty for a Sum of Money to be lent him in his pressing Necessities, and that he had ordered the Chancellor to confer with me upon that Subject. The Chancellor added, that the King and he were agreed; that the King should Complain much of my Incompliance with regard to this Loan, and that the Chancellor particularly should tell the Queen, by way of Secret,*

Secret, that I was a ſtrange Man, and that he was very much miſtaken, if by what I had ſaid to him I did not intend to demand of him for Security of this Loan ſome Cautionary Town, as England *had formerly done by* France *and* Holland *in a parallel Caſe: But that he had pretended not to underſtand me, as it was a Demand to which he could never adviſe his Maſter to give his Conſent. All this Diſguiſe is made uſe of to prepare the Queen for a Belief that ſhe knew ſomething of the Treaty, if it ſhould come to a Concluſion; and that Neceſſity was the Motive to it. I am likewiſe to complain of the Chancellor, as of a Man who is blindly zealous to procure Advantages for the King his Maſter, but has no regard for thoſe of your Majeſty. This whole Procedure confirms me in the Opinion that they have a Mind to a Treaty, to which nothing ſtands in the way but the Price, and here they are unreaſonable.* 1662.

In another Letter of the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, the Count *d' Eſtrades* writ to the King that the Chancellor had told him---*That when it ſhould be known for how ſmall a Sum this Treaty was made, the King could not avoid Reproach; and that at the leaſt, himſelf and the Chancellor would be liable to a publick Cenſure, which might put his Life in danger. That therefore it was his Opinion to make a Preſent of the Town to your Majeſty, and leave the Reward to your own Generoſity: But that as he was not Maſter, and was highly concerned to take Care of himſelf in an Affair ſo nice and delicate, he was obliged to conceal his own Sentiments, and make a ſhew of adhering to thoſe of others, that he might not be taken for the principal Author of the Treaty ——— He farther enlarged upon the Importance of this Place, and the Advantages which your Majeſty might draw from it, if your Majeſty ſhould ever deſign to make an Invaſion upon* Flanders, *&c.*

Theſe Letters demonſtrate that the Earl of *Clarendon*, Son of the Chancellor, was but ill-informed, when he told Dr. *Burnet* that the Earl his Father would never meddle with the Affair of *Dunkirk*. It may be ſaid, however, in the Chancellor's Juſtification,

1662. tion, that it is by no Means impoſſible but that the Thought of ſelling *Dunkirk* might ariſe originally from the King; that perhaps the Chancellor uſed his Endeavours to diſſuade him from this Project; but that being unable to ſucceed, he had a Mind to give the King a Proof of his Obedience, by taking this Negotiation upon himſelf, in order to manage it to the King's Advantage. For Dr. *Burnet*, in the Character which he has left of this Miniſter, has this Remark, that though a Reſolution had been taken contrary to his Sentiment, he nevertheleſs laboured the Execution of it with the ſame Zeal, as if it had come from himſelf. But this is only a bare Poſſibility, to which every Body may pay what Regard he pleaſes.

Three Regicides *executed.*

While this Negotiation was managing by the King and his firſt Miniſter, three of the late King's Judges, who had found Means to eſcape out of the Kingdom, were taken, and publickly executed at *Tybourn*. They had, after ſeveral Journeys made thro' *Low* and *High Germany*, ſettled for ſome time at *Hanow* under borrowed Names, and returned in the Spring to *Delft* in *Holland*, having appointed their Wives to meet them there, in order to learn the State of Affairs in *England*, and what Hopes were left for them; but Sir *George Downing*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*, and formerly of their own Party, having by their intercepted Letters diſcovered the Aſſignation, obtained the Conſent of the *States* for the apprehending them. They were accordingly taken at *Delft*, put on Board an *Engliſh* Ship, and ſo brought to their Execution. The Names of theſe three *Regicides* were *Corbet*, *Okey* and *Berkſtead*.

Proceedings againſt Vane *and* Lambert.

This Execution was followed with the Trials and Condemnation of Sir *Henry Vane* and General *Lambert*, who had been expreſsly excepted out of the *Act* of Pardon, though they were not amongſt the King's Judges, becauſe they were looked upon as the chief Authors of the Troubles. *Vane* had been committed to Priſon, ſhortly after the King's Arrival, on a bare

bare Suſpicion of his framing ſome Plot againſt the Government. But notwithſtanding his being excepted out of the *Act of Indemnity*, he had, by his Credit, prevailed to have a Petition offered to the King for the ſaving his Life, by that very Parliament which had excepted him from Mercy, and the Petition was granted by the King. He was therefore kept in Priſon without being brought to Tryal, till the Time of which I am ſpeaking. But this Second Parliament being compoſed of Men of another Stamp than the firſt, the Houſe of *Commons*, in a Petition to the King, prayed that he, as well as *Lambert*, might be brought to Tryal. It was to no Purpoſe for him to alledge in his Defence the Petition of the firſt Parliament, and many other Reaſons; he was, notwithſtanding all this, ſentenced to die as a Traytor. *Lambert* was likewiſe tried and condemned; but a Pardon came for him at the very inſtant that Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him. He was confined in the Iſle of *Guernſey*, where he lived a Priſoner Thirty-ſix Years *. Sir *Henry Vane* met not with the like Favour from the King. This, it is pretended, was owing to the Inſolence of his Behaviour at his Tryal. But a great many believed that he fell a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of the Earl of *Strafford*, in whoſe Death he had a conſiderable Share. His Indiſcretion and Inſolence, as well at his Tryal as his Execution, have been greatly aggravated. But it is eaſy to ſee that this was only to ſave the King's Honour, who, having poſitively promiſed a Pardon to all Perſons that were not in the Number of the King's Judges, could not by any Means avoid granting a Pardon to *Vane*, without violating his Promiſe, and eſpecially after ſparing his Life at the Requeſt of the late Parliament. It was ſo much feared that he would inſiſt upon this Point in his Speech upon the Scaffold, that a great Number of Drummers were placed there, who, as

1662.

Lambert *pardoned.*

Vane *executed.* Echard.

* He is ſaid to live and die a *Papiſt*.

1662. Burnet, p. 164.

ſoon as he begun to ſpeak, upon a Sign given, ſtruck up with their Drums. All the Favour he could obtain from the King was to have his Head ſtruck off. Great Care was taken after his Death to publiſh the King's Inclination to have pardoned him, if he had not been provoked by freſh Inſolence. But this is a Thing very hard to be proved.

The Presbyterian Miniſters quit their Livings rather than ſubmit to the Act of Uniformity.

St. *Bartholomew*'s Day * being come, on which the *Act of Uniformity* was to begin to be put in Execution, Two Thouſand *Presbyterian* Miniſters choſe rather to quit their Livings, than ſubmit to the Conditions of this *Act*. It was expected that a Diviſion would have happened amongſt them, and that a great Number would have choſe rather to conform to the Church of *England*, than ſee themſelves reduced to Beggary. It was not therefore without extreme Surprize, that they were all ſeen to ſtand out, not ſo much as one ſuffering himſelf to be tempted *1. As this is a conſiderable Event in this Reign, it will not be foreign to the Purpoſe to ſtay and enquire into the Cauſes of this Rigour againſt the *Presbyterians*: I ſay the *Presbyterians*, becauſe the other *Sects* were, by no Means, ſo dreaded by the Church of *England*.

A Remark upon it.

1. It cannot be denied that the High-Church-Men who prevailed in the Parliament, acted in a Spirit of Revenge. But this Revenge ſhould not appear very ſtrange conſidering the Perſecution, and at laſt the entire Deſtruction brought upon the *Epiſcopal* Church by the *Presbyterians*, if nothing had been promiſed to theſe latter, and the Publick Faith not violated in the breach of that Promiſe. The Church of

* The *Presbyterians* remembred what a St. *Bartholomew*'s had been held at *Paris* Ninety Years before, which was the Day of that Maſſacre, and did not ſtick to compare the one to the other. *Burn.* p. 185.

*1 *Burnet* inſinuates, that their Leaders took great Pains to have them all ſtick together, infuſing it into them, that if great Numbers ſtood out, that would ſhow their Strength, and produce new Laws in their Favour—So it was thought that many went out in the Crowd to keep their Friends Company. *p.* 192.

of *England* was the National Church, which had flouriſhed from the Reformation to the Time of the War between *Charles* I, and the Parliament, when the *Presbyterians* entirely ſubverted it. It was therefore but reaſonable to reſtore it to its former Condition. But it was Unjuſt not to ſtand to the Promiſe made to the *Presbyterians*, eſpecially as they had greatly contributed to the King's Reſtoration, and withal to that of the very Church which perſecuted them after having been Re-eſtabliſhed by their Aſſiſtance. 1662.

2. But Revenge was not the ſole Cauſe of the preſent Rigour exerciſed againſt the *Presbyterians*. The deſire of Self-Preſervation had no leſs a Share in it. Paſt Experience had taught the Church of *England*, that if the *Presbyterians* ſhould ever again find an Opportunity ſo favourable as that which they once had, they would not let it ſlip. They were always irreconcileable Enemies, though in the preſent State of Affairs, they were no longer able to do Miſchief, but were obliged to ſue for Mercy. It is therefore out of doubt that it was the Intereſt of the Church of *England* to uſe all poſſible Precautions to prevent the increaſe of a Party already too powerful, and which in all appearance would never ceaſe contending for the Maſtery.

3. We have already ſeen what were the Notions of this Parliament, and the *High-Church* Party, touching the Royal Prerogative, and to what Height they carried it. It was no Secret that the *Presbyterians* as well as the other *Sects*, purſued quite contrary Maxims, and if they were not entirely *Republicans*, at leaſt they endeavoured to reduce the Royal Power within very narrow Bounds, as appeared from the Reſolutions and Conduct of the Parliament of 1640. But while the Church of *England* had no Suſpicion of the King's Religion, but believed him a zealous Member of her Communion, it was her Intereſt to ſupport and extend his Prerogative, and conſequently to diſ-

1662. able the *Presbyterians* from proſecuting their Maxims.

4. The Church of *England*'s Intereſt required that ſhe ſhould improve ſo favourable an Opportunity, which might return no more. It was ſeen how greedy the King was of Money to throw it away with the greateſt Profuſion, and that he could not be without the Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, and the Church had the good Fortune to have a Parliament conſiſting of her moſt zealous Members, and diſpoſed to ſacrifice to the King a little of the Nation's Money, provided the King would in his Turn make them a Sacrifice of the *Presbyterians*. Though he was by no means ſuſpected to be a *Papiſt*, Men could not believe that he would, from a pure Principle of Honour and Honeſty, fall out with a Parliament ſo favourable to him for the ſake of the *Presbyterians*, whom he neither did, nor indeed had any Cauſe to love. There was nothing therefore but what might be expected from his Complaiſance, provided Care was taken to ſupply his Neceſſities. Such a Conjuncture was not to be neglected.

5. But there was another ſtill more powerful Cauſe of the Parliament's Severity againſt the *Presbyterians*. This was the Intereſt of the *Papiſts*, who had all along a great Influence during this Reign. Some of theſe made an open profeſſion of their Religion, and yet were looked upon with no ill Eye by the Court. Others, after the King's Example, pretended to be good *Proteſtants*, and zealous Members of the Church of *England*, in order to be more capable of ſerving their Party. The firſt uſed all their Endeavours to incite the Parliament to a rough Treatment of the *Presbyterians*, in order to deſtroy a Party which had ſo openly declared againſt the Royal Power. The others, who lay hid under the Cover of a falſe Zeal for the *Proteſtant* Religion, laboured with the ſame Earneſtneſs to ſpirit up the Leading-Members of the Church of *England*, and thoſe particularly whom they knew to be moſt warm and

and hot againſt Men, who, they ſuggeſted, would neglect no favourable Opportunity of ruining them, as their Practices had ſufficiently declared. But while they were thus zealouſly at work on one Hand to bring Things to Extremities, they were labouring on the other, by their Emiſſaries, to incourage the *Presbyterians*, and to exhort them to the cloſeſt Union, by inſinuating to them that this was the moſt effectual Means to defeat the Meaſures of their Enemies. They under-hand repreſented to them the greatneſs of their Number, which in all likelihood would deter the Parliament from attempting the Ruin of ſo many Men at once, for fear of bringing on new Troubles. Whereas, if their Party ſhould divide, they would be inſenſibly and irrecoverably ruined. In ſhort, to induce them the more eaſily not to be diſheartned, they were told that the King provoked with the ill Treatment they received, notwithſtanding his Promiſe made to them, would protect them openly if they could reſolve to ſtand firm and united amongſt themſelves; but a Diviſion would put it out of his Power to do them any Service. It is certain that the Court was in this Diſpoſition, not from any Pity for the *Presbyterians*, or regard to the King's Honour, but from Hopes that the Union amongſt the *Non-Conformiſts* would procure them more favourable Conditions, which the *Papiſts* might turn to their Advantage. But when I ſay the Court, I do not pretend to include in this Term, the Earl of *Clarendon*, though Prime Miniſter. This Juſtice muſt be done him, to ſay that he not only contributed nothing to the Deſigns of the King and the *Papiſts*; but that he was the Man that broke them, by ſecret Intrigues, well knowing what lay hid under this feigned Moderation of the King towards the *Presbyterians*. However the King, the Duke of *York*, and the other Leaders of the *Papiſts*, believed it neceſſary to puſh the *Presbyterians*, and then encourage them to hold together, that the Danger from their Union might prevail with the Parliament to grant 1662.

1663. to all the *Non-Conformists* in general, a *Toleration* which should extend to the *Papists*. This is not a bare Conjecture. Every Step taken by the King afterwards is a clear Evidence that this was the Scheme he had formed.

Rigorous Execution of the Corporation Act.

I have already spoke of the *Act* made to prevent disaffected Persons from being admitted into the Offices of *Corporations*. For the better Execution of this *Act* the Parliament had appointed Commissioners, who were employed all this Year in visiting *Corporations*, and inspecting the Conduct of the Members. A very extensive Power had been given to these Commissioners, and they were invested with an absolute Authority to turn out of all Offices, in the respective *Corporations*, all Members who were ever so little suspected. For the Design of this *Act* was to divest of all Credit, every Man that was not entirely devoted to the King and the Church of *England*. This Power was exercised with all imaginable Rigour: So that the *Corporations* had not one Member left in their respective Offices, who was not of the same Principles with the House of *Commons*. Moreover, the Walls of *Gloucester*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Leicester* and *Taunton* were, by Order of these Commissioners razed to the Ground, because those Towns had distinguished themselves by their Fidelity and Zeal for the Parliament.

A Plot.

About the End of the Year a Conspiracy was discovered, carried on by the *Fifth Monarchy-Men*, and upon the Informations of some of the Accomplices, six were executed. Nevertheless many believed that this was only an Artifice to excuse the Rigour practised against the *Non-Conformists*. The Ground of this Suspicion was, that in a Plot formed to seize the King, the Duke of *York*, and General *Monk*, to murder them, and then seize the *Tower* and Castle of *Windsor*, only six Conspirators were discovered, namely, a Serjeant of *Foot*, a Distiller, a Cheesmonger, a Gunner, a Compass-Maker, and a Felt-maker. Few could perswade themselves that such sort of Men could

could ever flatter themſelves with the Thoughts of ſucceeding in ſo improbable a Deſign. It is true, that to give ſome Appearance of probability to this Conſpiracy, it was ſaid, that the old Army Colonels were to aſſemble their disbanded Forces, and that *Ludlow*, then in *Switzerland*, was to put himſelf at the Head of this Army. But though ſuch an Undertaking required Perſons of ſome Diſtinction, yet only theſe ſix who were executed, could be diſcovered. At leaſt if the Conſpiracy was real, the Plotters had made no great Progreſs in it. 1662-3.

Six Conſpirators executed.

To finiſh the Tranſactions of this Year, I ſhall only add, that after the Earl of *Sandwich* had left *Lisbon*, to conduct the Queen into *England*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, ſailed with a Squadron to *Algier*, and forced the *Algerines* to a Peace with *England*. As the King was in Poſſeſſion of *Tangier*, they doubtleſs believed that it would be of no Advantage to them to have him for their Enemy. Shortly after, the King declared *Tangier* a free Port, and inveſted it with great Privileges.

Peace with Algier.

The King had already diſcovered how agreeable it would be to him to have the Execution of the *Uniformity Act* left to his Management. But the Parliament had returned no Anſwer to his Deſire. Before this *Act* the *Presbyterians* had behaved in a manner to give no juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt them, and the King had given them a poſitive Promiſe, either that he would never conſent to the *Act*, or procure them ſome Clauſe of Exemption in it. But he performed neither of theſe Promiſes, his Aim having been only to keep them united, by giving them Hopes of his Protection. After the *Act* was paſſed he ſtill continued to feed their Expectations, and from hence it was that they preſented a Petition to the King and Council, to deſire a *Diſpenſation* from the Penalties annexed to the *Act of Uniformity*. This Petition would doubtleſs have been rejected, if the King had not ſignified to the Council the Obligation he was under to grant their Requeſt. Some Time af-

The King's Conduct to the Presbyterians.

A Declaration in their Favour.

1663. ter he publiſhed a Declaration, dated the 26th of *December*, but which came not out till the beginning of *January* 1662-3. In this Declaration, after an Aſſurance of his hearty adherence to the *Act of Uniformity*, he ſaid nevertheleſs, that for the ſake of others, he was willing to *diſpence* with their Obedience to ſome Articles in it. After this Declaration was publiſhed, Mr. *Calamy* a *Presbyterian* Miniſter being in the Church of which he had the Cure before the *Act* was put in Execution, and ſeeing that the Miniſter who was to preach, did not come, aſcended the Pulpit and preached, for which he was committed to *Newgate* by the Lord-Mayor of *London*. But in a few Days he was diſcharged by the King's expreſs Order.

The Earl of Clarendon *begins to ſink in his Credit.*

The King, as we have ſeen, meant to procure ſome Advantages to the *Presbyterians* with a view to do the like for the *Papiſts*. This was his Scheme, and as it was directly contrary to the Principles of the Earl of *Clarendon*, mortal Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, and no Friend of the *Papiſts*, it is not at all ſurpriſing that it was formed without the Privity of this Miniſter, whoſe Credit, for this very Reaſon, began from that Time to decline. Nay, the King had plainly enough ſhown that he had no longer the ſame Affection for him, by obliging Secretary *Nicholas*, worn out with Age, who was intimate Friend to the Chancellor, to reſign his Poſt to Sir *Henry Bennet*, afterwards Earl of *Arlington*, and the Chancellor's profeſſed Enemy. This was ſufficient to ſhew that his Credit with the King was not the ſame as formerly. On the other Hand, notwithſtanding the King's Affectation of a great Zeal for the *Proteſtant*-Religion, the Choice of *Bennet* to be Secretary of State, diſcovered ſufficiently his Inclinations for the *Roman-Catholicks*, *Bennet* being ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a *Papiſt* in his Heart, and known openly for their Protector. It is ſaid, that he and the Earl of *Briſtol* had induced the King to change his Religion as he was upon the Road to *Fontarabia*, and that the former durſt not re-

The Earl of Arlington *made Secretary of State.*

turn

turn into *England* till after the Death of the Lord *Culpeper*, who had threatened him to discover it to the Parliament. Be that as it will, as *Bennet* was the Chancellor's Enemy, this last could not look upon *Bennet*'s Advancement into the Post of his old Friend, otherwise than as the Beginning of his own Disgrace. 1663.

The King's Design in favouring the Presbyterians.

The King's Declaration in Favour of the *Presbyterians* was a further Indication of the Fall of the Chancellor. This Declaration had been resolved on, and drawn up without his Knowledge in *Somerset*-House, where the Queen-Mother resided, and probably by a *Catholick* Junto, or by the secret Favourers of that Religion. Those who knew his Principles easily judged that he had no Hand in it. They had Reason to be confirmed in this Opinion afterwards, when all the World was sensible beyond all doubt, that the King in his pretended Compassion for the *Presbyterians*, had only an Intention to procure a *Toleration* for the *Catholicks*. The Chancellor notwithstanding retained his Post for some Years, though with great Diminution of his Credit and Authority.

The Parliament meeting the 18th of *February*, the King made a Speech to both Houses, in which he confined himself to one single Point, namely, his Declaration concerning the *Act of Uniformity*. His Words were these.

The King's Speech to both Houses in favour of his Declaration.

" TO cure the Distempers, and compose the dif-
" ferent Minds among us, I set forth my *De-*
" *claration* of the 26th of *December*, in which you
" may see I am willing to set Bounds to the Hopes
" of some, and the Fears of others; of which when
" you shall have examined well the Grounds, I
" doubt not but I shall have your Concurrence
" therein. The Truth is, I am an Enemy to all Se-
" verity for Religion and Conscience, *how mistaken*
" *soever it be*, when it extends to Capital and Sangui-
" nary Punishments, which I am told were begun in
" *Popish* Times: Therefore when I say this, I hope
" I shall not need to warn any here not to infer
" from

1662-3. "from thence, I mean to favour *Popery*. I must "confeſs to you there are many of that Profeſſion, "who having ſerved my Father and my ſelf very "well, may fairly hope for ſome Part of that *Indul-* "*gence* I would willingly afford to others who diſſent "from us: But let me explain my ſelf, leaſt ſome "miſtake me herein, as I hear they did in my *Decla-* "*ration*: I am far from meaning by this, a *Tolera-* "*tion* or *Qualifying* them thereby to hold any Offices "or Places in the Government: Nay, further I de- "ſire ſome Laws may be made to hinder the Growth "and Progreſs of their Doctrines. I hope you have "all ſo good an Opinion of my Zeal for the *Pro-* "*teſtant* Religion, that I need not tell you I will not "yield to any therein, not to the Biſhops them- "ſelves, nor in my liking the *Uniformity* of it, as it "is now eſtabliſhed; which being the Standard of "our Religion, muſt be kept pure and uncorrupt, "free from all other Mixtures: And yet if the *Diſ-* "*ſenters* will demean themſelves peaceably and mo- "deſtly under the Government, I could heartily "wiſh I had ſuch a *Power* of *Indulgence*, to uſe up- "on *Occaſions*, as might not needleſsly force them "out of the Kingdom, or ſtaying here give them "Cauſe to conſpire againſt the Peace of it.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*, it would look like "Flattery in me to tell you to what Degree I am "confident of your Wiſdom and Affection in all "Things that relate to the Greatneſs and Proſperity "of the Kingdom. If you conſider what is beſt for "us all, I dare ſay we ſhall not diſagree."

The Commons *are alarmed.*

This Speech, added to the Declaration of the 26th of *December*, gave an Alarm to the Houſe of *Commons*. One may almoſt be aſſured that whatever the *Commons* had done in favour of the King, was only with a view to have him paſs the *Act of Uniformity*; and yet they ſaw him not only *diſpenſe* with this ſame *Act*, but even demand a Power to *diſpenſe with it*, that is, to ſet it aſide as often as he ſhould think convenient.

nient. That this Diſpenſation was not only in favour of the *Presbyterians* who had the beſt Claim to it of all the other Sects, but moreover in favour of all the *Non-Conformiſts*. Nay, it was eaſy to perceive from what he had ſaid touching the *Catholicks*, that his Intention was to prevent their being diſtinguiſhed from the *Proteſtant Sects*, in caſe his Deſires were complied with. This Juſtice ought to be done to the *High-Church*-Party, that though their Enemies frequently brand them for *Papiſts*, on account of their extreme Attachment to ſome *Forms* and *Ceremonies*, yet are they as far removed from the Eſſence of *Popery* as the other *Epiſcoparians*, and even the *Presbyterians* themſelves: This they have demonſtrated on ſeveral very remarkable Occaſions. The Houſe of *Commons* which, as I ſaid, was compoſed for the moſt Part of *High-Church-Men* found in the King's Demand, two Articles equally oppoſite to their own Principles, that is to ſay, his *Indulgence* for both *Presbyterians* and *Catholicks*. And therefore they reſolved on an Addreſs to the King, wherein after the neceſſary Complements, they proceeded in the following manner. 1663.

Addreſs of the Commons *about the King's Declaration.*

" IT is with extream Unwillingneſs and Reluctancy of Heart, that we are brought to differ " from any Thing which your Majeſty has thought " fit to propoſe: And though we do no way doubt but " that the unreaſonable Diſtempers of ſome Men's Spirits, and the many Mutinies and Conſpiracies which " were carried on during the late Intervals of Parliament, did reaſonably incline your Majeſty to endeavour by your *Declaration*, to give ſome Allay " to thoſe ill Humours, till the Parliament aſſembled; and the hopes of *Indulgence*, if the Parliament ſhould conſent to it; eſpecially ſeeing the " Pretenders to this *Indulgence*, did ſeem to make " ſome Titles to it, by virtue of your Majeſty's Declaration from *Breda*. Nevertheleſs we your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, who now are " returned to ſerve in Parliament from thoſe ſeveral

" Parts

1663. " Parts and Places of your Kingdom, for which we " were choſen, do humbly offer to your Majeſty's " great Wiſdom, that it is in no ſort adviſeable that " there be any *Indulgence* to ſuch Perſons who pre- " ſume to diſſent from the *Act of Uniformity*, and " the Religion eſtabliſhed: For theſe Reaſons we " have conſidered the Nature of your Majeſty's De- " claration from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion, " that your Majeſty ought not to be preſſed with it " any further; 1. Becauſe it is not a *Promiſe* in it ſelf, " but only a gracious Declaration of your Majeſty's " *Intentions*, to do what in you lay, and what a Par- " liament ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to do; and " no ſuch Advice was ever given or thought fit to " be offered, nor could it be otherwiſe underſtood, " becauſe there were Laws of *Uniformity* then in Be- " ing, which could not be diſpenſed with but by Act " of Parliament. 2. They who do pretend a Right " to that ſuppoſed *Promiſe*, put the Right into the " Hands of their Repreſentatives, whom they choſe " to ſerve from them in this Parliament, who have " paſſed, and your Majeſty conſented to the *Act of* " *Uniformity*. If any ſhall preſume to ſay, that a " Right to the Benefit of this Declaration doth ſtill " remain after this *Act* paſſed, 3. It tends to diſſolve " the very Bonds of Government, and to ſuppoſe a " Diſability in your Majeſty and the Houſes of Par- " liament, to make a Law contrary to any Part of " your Majeſty's Declaration, though both Houſes " ſhould adviſe your Majeſty to it.

" We have alſo conſidered that the *Nature* of the " *Indulgence* propoſed, with References to thoſe *Con-* " *ſequences* that muſt neceſſarily attend it. 1. It will " eſtabliſh *Schiſm* by a Law, and make the whole " Government of the Church precarious, and the " Cenſures of it of no Moment or Conſideration at " all. 2. It will no way become the Gravity or " Wiſdom of a Parliament, to paſs a Law at one " Seſſion for *Uniformity*, and at another Seſſion (the " Reaſons of *Uniformity* continuing ſtill the ſame) to

" paſs

" paſs another Law to weaken or fruſtrate the Exe- 1663.
" cution of it. 3. It will expoſe your Majeſty to the
" reſtleſs Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and
" of every ſingle Perſon alſo, who ſhall preſume to
" diſſent from the Church of *England*. 4. It will be a
" Cauſe of increaſing *Sects* and *Sectaries*, whoſe Num-
" ber will weaken the true *Proteſtant* Profeſſion ſo
" far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it to defend
" it ſelf againſt them: And which is further conſider-
" able, thoſe Numbers, which by being troubleſome
" to the Government, find they can arrive to an *In-*
" *dulgence*, will, as their Numbers increaſe, be yet
" more troubleſome, ſo that at length they may ar-
" rive to a *General Toleration*, which your Majeſty
" hath declared againſt, and in Time ſome prevalent
" *Sect* will at laſt contend for an *Eſtabliſhment*; which
" for ought that can be foreſeen may end in *Popery*.
" 5. It is a Thing altogether without Precedent, and
" it will take away all Means of convicting *Recuſants*,
" and be inconſiſtent with the Method and Proceeding
" of the Laws of *England*. Laſtly, it is humbly con-
" ceived, that the *Indulgence* propoſed will be ſo far
" from tending to the Peace of the Kingdom, that
" it is rather likely to occaſion great Diſturbance.
" And on the contrary, that the aſſerting of the
" Laws and the Religion eſtabliſhed according to the
" *Act of Uniformity*, is the moſt probable Means to
" produce a ſettled Peace and Obedience through-
" out your Kingdom; becauſe the Variety of Pro-
" feſſions in Religion, when openly indulged doth di-
" rectly diſtinguiſh Men into *Parties*, and withal
" gives them Opportunity to count their Numbers;
" which conſidering the Animoſities that out of a
" religious Pride will be kept on Foot by the ſeveral
" *Factions*, doth tend directly and inevitably to open
" Diſturbance. Nor can your Majeſty have any Se-
" curity, that the Doctrine or Worſhip of the ſe-
" veral Factions, which are all governed by a ſeveral
" Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the Peace of your
" Kingdom. And if any Perſon ſhall preſume to diſ-

1663. "turb the Peace of the Kingdom, we do in all Humility declare, *That we will for ever and on all Occasions, be ready with our utmost Endeavours and Assistance to adhere to, and serve your Majesty according to our bounden Duty and Allegiance.*"

This Address, notwithstanding the Weakness of the Reasons alledged in it, had the effect the *Commons* expected, which was to let the King see, that it would be in vain to endeavour to obtain from the Parliament a Power of dispensing with the *Uniformity Act*.

The King's Answer. He returned an Answer to it in Writing, about three Weeks after, which contained in Substance, that he would not reply to their Reasons, though he found that his Meaning had been ill understood; that he accepted thankfully their Offer to assist him against those Persons who should attempt to disturb the Publick Tranquillity.

As in the King's Speech and Declaration there were two Articles that gave an Alarm to the Parliament, one relating to the *Non-Conformists* in general, the other to the *Papists* in particular, the *Commons*, having acted against the former, resolved now to proceed against the latter. To this End, they obtained the Concurrence of the Lords for an Address to be jointly presented to the King, wherein the two Houses set forth, "That his Majesty's Lenity to-

The King addressed by the two Houses. "wards the *Papists*, had drawn into the Kingdom "great Numbers of *Romish* Priests and *Jesuits*: "They were therefore humble Suitors to him to is- "sue out a Proclamation to command all *Jesuits*, "and all *English*, *Irish*, and *Scottish* Priests, and all "such other Priests as have taken *Orders* from the "*See* of *Rome*, or by Authority thereof (except such "foreign *Jesuits* and *Priests* as by Contract of Mar- "riage are to attend the Persons of either of the "Queens, or by the Law of Nations to attend fo- "reign Ambassadors) to depart this Kingdom by a "Day, under Pain of having the Penalties of the "Law inflicted upon them." The King answered in Writing:

Writing: "That he was not a little troubled that "his Lenity and Condeſcenſion towards many of the "*Popiſh* Perſwaſion (which were but natural Effects "of his Generoſity and good Nature, after having lived ſo many Years in the Dominions of *Roman* Catholick Princes; and out of a juſt Memory "of what many of them had done and ſuffered in "the Service of his Father and himſelf) had been "made ſo ill uſe of, and ſo ill deſerved, that the Reſort of *Jeſuits* and *Prieſts* into his Kingdom, had "been thereby increaſed, with which his Majeſty "was and is highly offended. But that he would "iſſue out a Proclamation as he was deſired, and "take Care that it ſhould be more punctually executed than any one of the like Nature had been "before it. He declared farther to both Houſes, "and all his loving Subjects, that as his Affection "and Zeal for the *Proteſtant*-Religion, and the "Church of *England*, had not been concealed nor "untaken notice of in the World, ſo he was not nor "ever would be ſo ſollicitous for the ſettling his "own Revenue, or providing for the Peace and "Tranquillity of the Kingdom, as for the Advancement and Improvement of the Religion eſtabliſhed, "and for the uſing and applying all proper and effectual Remedies to hinder the growth of *Popery*, "both which he in Truth looked upon as the beſt "Expedients to eſtabliſh the Peace and Proſperity "of all his Kingdoms.". 1663. *His Anſwer.*

The Proclamation was accordingly publiſhed, but no better obſerved than all thoſe that had been iſſued out for the ſame Purpoſe, ſince the Beginning of the Reign of *James* I. As it was not then known that the King was a *Catholick*, his Aſſurances or Zeal for the *Proteſtant*-Religion were taken for ſo many Truths, which left no Room to ſuſpect that he had the leaſt Intention to reſtore the *Catholick*-Religion in *England*. As we are now better informed, we are better able to judge of his Intentions. *A Proclamation againſt* Romiſh *Prieſts.*

1663. This Affair being ended, the *Commons* proceeded next to examine the State of the King's ordinary Revenues, and to think of the Means to raiſe them to Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds, as had been promiſed *. But as this Affair required a long Diſcuſſion, the King, who deſigned an immediate Prorogation of the Parliament, was willing to try one Expedient for drawing a ſpeedy and extraordinary Supply from the *Commons*, till his Revenues could be ſettled. For this Purpoſe he ſent for them to the *Banquetting-Houſe*, and in a Speech, the moſt flattering, pathetick, and affectionate, that he had ever yet made, he demanded a preſent Supply of Money, without which he aſſured them it was impoſſible for him to extricate himſelf out of the Difficulties he was preſſed with. He offered to ſhow them that the Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds formerly granted him, had been to the laſt Penny diſpoſed for the Publick Service. But he well knew there was no hazard in the Offer, although it was not eaſy to imagine to what Publick Uſe this Money had been applied. However that be, the *Commons* moved with the King's great Affection for his People, and his ardent Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, granted them four entire *Subſidies*, and the Clergy in *Convocation*, following their Example did the like *1.

The King demands a Supply;

has it granted.

In

* The particular Branches of the Revenue were, the *Cuſtoms*, the *Exciſe*, the *Crown-Lands*, the *Hearth-Money*, the *Poſt-Office*, the *Firſt-Fruits* and *Tenths*, the *Coinage*, the *Alienation Office*, with other leſſer Matters, which in all amounted to eleven Hundred Thouſand Pounds or thereabouts.

*1 This was the laſt *Aid* the *Spirituality* gave: For it was reſolved on hereafter to Tax the Church-Benefices as temporal Eſtates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter Burden, but was not ſo honourable as when it was given by themſelves. Yet Intereſt prevailing above the Point of Honour, they acquieſced in it. So the *Convocation* being no more neceſſary to the Crown, this made that there was leſs regard had to them afterwards. They were often diſcontinued and prorogued; and when they met, it was only for Form. *Burnet*, p. 197.

1663. *The Chancellor's Credit declines.*

In the mean Time the Chancellor's Credit daily declined, not that he had leſs Affection for the King, but probably, becauſe the King was entering upon Projects advantagious neither to the State nor Religion, and therefore could not think this Miniſter a proper Inſtrument to aſſiſt him in the Execution of his Deſigns. If the Chancellor's Enemies had met with Incouragement from the King, his Diſgrace had happened long before: But his Services, Affection, and Fidelity, as well during the King's Exile, as ſince his Reſtoration could not eaſily be forgotten. He therefore continued him, not only in his Poſt, but even in ſome Degree of his Favour, which made the *Papiſts* fear that he might in the End recover his Credit, and break all their Meaſures. This probably engaged the Earl of *Briſtol*, a profeſſed *Papiſt*, to do what he could utterly to ruin the Chancellor, by bringing before the Lords an Impeachment of High-Treaſon againſt him, believing doubtleſs, that the King would not be diſpleaſed to have him fall this way, as he would have no Hand in it. But if it was eaſy to accuſe the Chancellor, it was not ſo to draw up an Impeachment ſo plauſible and well connected as to make him appear criminal. The Articles exhibited againſt him by the Earl of *Briſtol*, were to this Effect.

Articles of Accuſation againſt him. Echard, B. 809.

" 1. That he had endeavoured to alienate the " Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects, by artificially in- " ſinuating to his Creatures and Dependants, That " his Majeſty was inclined to Popery, and deſigned " to alter the eſtabliſhed Religion.

" 2. He had ſaid to ſeveral Perſons of his Maje- " ſty's Privy-Council, *That his Majeſty was dange-* " *rouſly corrupted in his Religion, and inclined to Pope-* " *ry: That Perſons of that Religion had ſuch Acceſs,* " *and ſuch Credit with him, that unleſs there were a* " *careful Eye had upon it, the* Proteſtant *Religion* " *would be overthrown in this Kingdom.*

" 3. Upon his Majeſty's admitting Sir *Henry Ben-* " *net* to be Secretary of State, in the Place of Sir

1663. " *Edward Nicholas*, he ſaid *That his Majeſty had* " *given Ten Thouſand Pounds to remove a Zealous* Pro- " teſtant, *that he might bring into that high Place a* " *concealed* Papiſt.

" 4. In Purſuance of the ſame Traiterous Deſign, " ſeveral Friends and Dependants of his have ſaid " aloud, *That were it not for my Lord Chancellor's* " *ſtanding in the Gap, Popery would be introduced into* " *this Kingdom.*

" 5. That he had perſwaded the King, contrary " to his Reaſon, to allow his Name to be uſed to " the Pope and ſeveral Cardinals in the Sollicitati- " ons of a Cardinal's Cap for the Lord *Aubigney*, " great Almoner to the Queen: In order to effect " which, he had employed Mr. *Richard Bealing*, a " known Papiſt; and had likewiſe applied himſelf " to ſeveral *Popiſh* Prieſts and *Jeſuits* for the ſame " Purpoſe, promiſing great Favour to the Prieſts " here, in Caſe it ſhould be effected.

" 6. That he had likewiſe promiſed to ſeveral Pa- " piſts he would do his Endeavour, and ſaid *He* " *hoped to compaſs the taking away all Penal Laws* " *againſt them*; to the End they might preſume and " grow Vain upon his Patronage, and by their pub- " liſhing their Hopes of a *Toleration*, encreaſe the " Scandal, deſigned by him to be raiſed throughout " the Kingdom.

" 7. That being intruſted with the Treaty be- " twixt his Majeſty, and his Royal Conſort the " Queen, he concluded it upon Articles Scandalous " and Dangerous to the *Proteſtant* Religion: More- " over he brought the King and Queen together, " without any ſettled Agreement about the Perfor- " mance of the Marriage Rights: whereby the " Queen refuſing to be married by a *Proteſtant* " Prieſt, in Caſe of her being with Child, either the " Succeſſion ſhould be made uncertain for want of the " due Rights of Matrimony, or elſe his Majeſty be " expoſed to a Suſpicion of his being marryed in " his own Dominions by a *Romiſh* Prieſt.

" 8. That

1663.

" 8. That having endeavoured to alienate the " Hearts of the King's Subjects upon the Score of " Religion, he made uſe of all his Scandals and Jea- " louſies to raiſe to himſelf a popular Applauſe of " being *the zealous Upholder of the Proteſtant Reli-* " *gion.*

" 9. That he further endeavoured to alienate the " Hearts of the King's Subjects, by venting in his " own Diſcourſe, and thoſe of his Emiſſaries, oppro- " brious Scandals againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, and " Courſe of Life, ſuch as are not fit to be mention- " ed, unleſs Neceſſity ſhould require it.

" 10. That he endeavoured to alienate the Affec- " tion of the Duke of *York*, from his Majeſty, by " ſuggeſting to him, *That his Majeſty intended to le-* " *gitimate the Duke of* Monmouth.

" 11. That he had perſwaded the King, againſt " the Advice of the Lord-General, to withdraw the " *Engliſh* Garriſons out of *Scotland*, and demoliſh all " the Forts built there, at ſo vaſt a Charge to this " Kingdom; and all without expecting the Advice " of the Parliament of *England.*

" 12. That he endeavoured to alienate his Maje- " ſty's Affections and Eſteem for his preſent Parlia- " ment, by telling him, *That there was never ſo weak* " *and inconſiderable a Houſe of Lords, nor never ſo* " *weak and heady a Houſe of Commons*: and particu- " larly, *That it was better to ſell* Dunkirk, *than to be* " *at their Mercy for want of Money.*

" 13. That contrary to a known Law made laſt " Seſſions, by which Money was given and applied " for the maintaining of *Dunkirk*, he adviſed and ef- " fected the Sale of the ſame to the *French* King.

" 14. That he had contrary to Law, enriched " himſelf and his Creatures by the Sale of Offices.

" 15. That he had converted to his own Uſe vaſt " Sums of publick Money raiſed in *Ireland* by way " of *Subſidy*, private and publick *Benevolences*, and " otherwiſe given and intended to defray the Charge " of the Government in that Kingdom.

1663. "16. That having arrogated to himself a Supream "Direction of all his Majesty's Affairs, he had pre- "vailed to have his Majesty's *Customs* farmed at a "lower Rate than others offered, and that by Per- "sons with some of whom he went a Share, and o- "ther Parts of Money resulting from his Majesty's "Revenues."

Rejected by the Lords. Without entring into the Particulars of this Charge, I shall content my self with observing that it was unanimously rejected, as it was altogether improbable, and even contradictory. For besides that it was known that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not at all less prejudiced against the *Papists* than against the *Presbyterians*; it could not but appear strange that an open and declared *Papist*, as the Earl of *Bristol* was, should accuse the Chancellor of favouring the *Romish* Religion, and on the other Hand insinuate that the King was a *Papist*, in order to have him lose the Affections of his Subjects. But what was still more extraordinary in this Impeachment was, that what the Chancellor was accused of having published against the King, was exactly true in it self, and yet the Earl of *Bristol* would have had it pass for pure Calumny.

The Revenue of the Post settled on the Duke of York. In this Session, the Parliament granted to the Duke of *York* the Revenues of the *Post-Office* and *Wine-Licenses*. These Revenues, which rose considerably afterwards, enabled the Duke of *York* to keep a separate Court, and to live independent of any Assistance from his Brother.

The Parliament prorogued. The 27th of *July* the King gave his Assent to the *Subsidy-Act* and some others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *March* of the following Year 1663-4.

The King makes a Progress. Shortly after the King and Queen made a Progress into the *West*, where they were received with great Pomp and Magnificence, particularly at *Oxford*. This was only a Journey of Pleasure, and af-

ter five or ſix Weeks ſpent in it, they returned to *London* in the Month of *October*. 1663.

A Plot of the Republicans *and* Independents.

While the King was upon his Progreſs, a Conſpiracy was diſcovered carried on by the *Old Commonwealths-Men* and *Independents*, with Deſign to reſtore the *Republican* Form of Government. It is pretended, that their Intent was to ſeize ſeveral Towns, particularly in the *North*, where they believed themſelves ſtrongeſt, and then to make a general Inſurrection. But one of the Accomplices making a Diſcovery, many were apprehended, and One and Twenty convicted, and executed the *January* following. It was aſſured that *Ludlow* and *Lambert* were to put themſelves at the Head of theſe Rebels, though the firſt never ſtirred out of *Switzerland*, whither he had fled for Refuge. As for *Lambert*, beſides that he never left the *Iſle* of *Guernſey* where he was confined; if any Proofs had appeared againſt him, he doubtleſs would not have been ſpared. It is true that *Ludlow*, in his *Memoirs*, ſeems to own that there was this Year ſome Commotion among the *Republicans* in *England*.

Dr. Juxon *dies.*

This Year dyed Dr. *Juxon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and was ſucceeded by *Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*.

1663·4.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The Parliament meeting the 16th of *March*, the King, in a Speech to both Houſes, demanded a Repeal of the *Triennial Act* made in 1641. To compaſs this he enlarged upon the late Conſpiracy, which he ſaid was ſtill on foot, and that there were Men, who, on Pretence that this Parliament was at an end by Virtue of ſome Clauſe in the *Triennial Bill*, fancied they might aſſemble themſelves and chuſe new Members. He deſired the two Houſes not to leave an *Act* in Being which was ſuch a Diſgrace to the Crown, and made in a Time when the Royal Prerogative was but little regarded. Laſtly, He told them that he loved Parliaments: That none of his Predeceſſors had ever been ſo much beholden to them as himſelf, and that he was perſwaded no King

1663-4. of *England* could ever be Happy without frequent Parliaments: But *that he would never ſuffer a Parliament to come together by the Means preſcribed by that Bill.* He then told them, that the four Subſidies granted him the laſt Seſſion, had fallen very ſhort of the Sum which he expected, or they intended: That the Revenues of the *Exciſe*, and *Tonnage* and *Poundage* came but to little through the Frauds of Brewers and Merchants, and that the Tax upon Chimnies declined the laſt half Year, not having produced ſo much as the former. He therefore prayed them to let him have the collecting of this Tax by his own Officers.

1664. *The Act of Triennial Parliaments revoked.* The *Commons* returning to their own Houſe, went immediately upon a *Bill* to revoke the *Triennial Act*, and to make another in its room, intituled, *An Act for the aſſembling and holding of Parliaments once in three Years at leaſt.* This *Bill* being ready, and the Lords having given their Conſent to it, the King came to their Houſe the 5th of *April*, and gave it the Royal Aſſent.

Cauſe of the Dutch *War.* For ſome Time paſt the King had reſolved upon a War with *Holland*: But it was difficult to come at the true Reaſon of this Reſolution. For the Cauſes alledged were only general, except the taking of two Ships in the *Eaſt-Indies*, valued at the moſt but at Eight or Ten Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. If ſome *Engliſh* Hiſtorians deſerve Credit, the King had no Thoughts of this War: The *Dutch*, according to theſe Hiſtorians were Aggreſſors, and being incouraged by Promiſe of great Aſſiſtance from *France*, watched Opportunities for a Breach with *England*. The ſame Hiſtorians pretend farther, that it was at the preſſing Inſtances of the Parliament that the King was drawn into this War, to revenge the Wrongs and Damages done by the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh* in *India*, *Africa* and elſewhere. But as theſe Hiſtorians mention no Particulars, and only deal in general Complaints, we ſhould receive but very indifferent Information in this Matter, if we ſhould mind only what they tell us. I

ſhall therefore relate what I meet with in others, who ſet this Matter in a clearer Light. 1664.

The 27th of *April* 1662, the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* made a Treaty with the King of *France*, by which both Parties engaged to aſſiſt one another, in Caſe of any Attack upon either in *Europe*. The ſame Year they made a like Treaty of Sept. 24. League and Alliance with the King of *England*. This had relation to another made in 1659, between *England* and the *States* before the King's Reſtoration, and ſeemed to have been renewed only to ſupply the Defect of a lawful Authority to that concluded by *England*. Nevertheleſs it happened, in the Interval of the two Treaties, that the *Dutch* had fallen upon, and ſunk or taken in the *Indies* two *Engliſh* Ships, called the *Bonadventure* and the *Good-Hope*, which had bred a Miſunderſtanding between the two Nations. The *Engliſh* pretended that theſe two Ships had been attacked without any juſt Cauſe, and the *Hollanders* maintained the contrary. In the Treaty of the Year 1662, the Affair of theſe two Ships was again brought into Agitation; but as their Value was inconſiderable, it was not thought proper to break off a Treaty for ſo ſlight a Cauſe, which promiſed much Advantage to both Nations. It was therefore agreed that the *Engliſh* ſhould be allowed to proſecute the Suit commenced on account of theſe two Ships, and the *States* depoſited fourſcore Thouſand *Florins* by way of Security to pay the full Value in caſe the Affair was decided againſt them. Some Time after another Diſpute aroſe upon the ſame Subject; and this was, the King pretended that the *States-General* were Judges of this Proceſs: to which the *States* replied, That it lay before the Admiralty of *Amſterdam*, which only had a Right to decide it. The Affair hung thus in Suſpence till the Month of *April* this Year, when the *Commons*, after an Examination of the Obſtructions of the Trade of the Nation, voted, and obtained the Concurrence of the Lords to their Vote. "That the Injuries, Inſults, and In- *Vote of the Parliament againſt the* Dutch.

1664. "dignities put upon his Majesty by the Subjects of "the *United-Provinces* in *India*, *Africk*, and other "Places; and the Damages done to the *English* "Merchants by the said Subjects of the *United-Pro-* "*vinces*, were the greatest Obstacles to the Trade "of *England*. That a speedy Remonstrance of this "should be made to the King, who should be hum- "bly moved to use the most effectual Means for "Redress of these Injuries, and others of the like "Nature, and for preventing the like for the fu- "ture. That for this Purpose the two Houses "would stand by his Majesty with their Lives and "Fortunes against all Opposers." In Pursuance of this Resolution the two Houses presented, the same Day, an Address to the King, to which on the Morrow, they received this Answer. "That he "was pleased with their Zeal for the advancement "of Trade, and the Removal of all Obstructions "which might hinder the same; being convinced "that nothing would more contribute to the Ho- "nour of the Nation, and the Prosperity of his "People. That he would examine the particular "Complaints brought before the Parliament, and "order his Minister in *Holland* to demand speedy "Reparation, and that in Case of a Denial, he re- "lied on their Promise and Declaration to stand by "him."

The Parliament Addresses the King.

His Answer.

It is easy to see that no Particulars were specified either in the Address or the Answer, and that hitherto all was confined to general Complaints. It will afterwards appear, that the *English* always kept to the same Expressions, till the Conclusion of the Peace, when they were obliged to declare the Injuries they complained of, the principal of which was the Loss of the two Ships before mentioned. It is now Time to show that when these Complaints were laid before the Parliament, the King had already resolved on the War, and that these Complaints were only designed for a Pretence for the War, and to engage the Parliament to furnish him with Supplies to support it.

Since

Since the Treaty of the Year 1662, the *States* had great Cauſe of Complaints againſt the *Algerines*, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded between them in the Year 1661. *England* was no leſs concerned than the *States* in the Depredations committed by the *Algerines* upon all ſorts of Ships, and therefore the *States* had deſired the King of *England* to join a Squadron of his Ships with one they were putting to Sea, to oblige theſe *Corſairs* to a more exact Obſervation of the Peace. The King anſwered, that he had rather act ſeparately. 1664.

After this Anſwer, the *States* ſent *Ruyter* into the *Mediterranean*, and the King ſent thither a Fleet of Twenty-one Ships under the Command of *Lawſon*. Theſe two Fleets ſet ſail in *May* this Year, and much about the ſame time the Duke of *York*, as Governour of the Royal *African* Company, ſent Vice-Admiral *Holms* to *Cape Verd*, with a Squadron of Fourteen Men of War, to take all poſſible Advantages againſt the *Dutch Eaſt-India Company*. *Lawſon* meeting *Ruyter* in the *Mediterranean*, was ſaluted by the *Dutch* Admiral, but returned not the Complement contrary to what had been ſtipulated in the Treaty of the Year 1662. It is not neceſſary to take notice here of the little Succeſs *Lawſon* and *Ruyter* had againſt the *Algerines*. What *Holms* did at *Cape Verd* is of much more Importance.

In the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, *Holms* made himſelf Maſter of Fort St. *Andrews*, and moſt other Places belonging to the *Dutch* in the Neighbourhood of *Cape Verd*, and after he had taken the Fort built upon the *Cape* itſelf, he gave it the Name of *York*. He erected a Fort in the Mouth of the River of *Gambia*, and then ſailing for *Guinea*, ſeized all the Forts which the *Dutch* had on theſe Coaſts. Fort *Achin* and Fort St. *George de la Mine* excepted. After this he returned into *England*. Now if it is conſidered that *Holms* left *England* in *May*, or at the lateſt in *June*: that ſome time was required to mann out this Fleet, and that the Parliament's Addreſs was not preſented

1664. ſented to the King till the 27th of *April*, it will be eaſily perceived that the War was reſolved on in *England* before any Complaints of Depredations committed by the *Dutch* were laid before the Parliament, and that theſe Complaints were only Pretences for the War. It is to be remarked, that not one *Engliſh* Hiſtorian ſpeaks of the Hoſtilities committed by *Holms* at *Cape Verd* and *Guinea*, long before any Declaration of War.*

But what farther makes appear that the King had thoughts of this War ever ſince his Reſtoration, is his Conduct during the time that the Treaty between *France* and the *States* was negotiating at *Paris*: For he did his utmoſt to hinder the Succeſs of it. The principal Article of this Treaty was, the reciprocal Guarantee of every Place in the Poſſeſſion of either Power, or of any ſuch as they might lawfully acquire afterwards: In this general Article the *States* comprehended the Right of Fiſhery on the *Britiſh* Coaſts as an eſſential Article, and the King of *France* made no Difficulty to conſent to it. But *Charles* oppoſed it, and uſed all his Endeavours to prevail with the King of *France* not to ſign this Article. *Lewis*, in Complaiſance to *Charles*, made uſe of all Expedients to ſatisfy him, by confining himſelf to a general Guarantee, which included all without Exception. But the *States* refuſed to conclude the Treaty, unleſs the Article of the *Fiſhery* was expreſsly inſerted. *Charles* finding that the King of *France* would at laſt be brought to give his Conſent, ordered the Count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, to be told, that he had taken a Reſolution to oblige the Ships of all Nations without Exception to *ſtrike* to his. But finding that the King of *France*, far from being intimidated

* King *Charles* II, the next Year after his Reſtoration, *viz.* 1661, ſent Sir *Robert Holms* with a Squadron of Men of War and ſome Soldiers to *America*, with which he reduced *New-York*, and all that which the *Dutch* had taken from the *Engliſh* in *Long-Iſland*. And from thence Sir *Robert Holms* ſailed to *Africa*, and took *Cape Verd* and ſome other Places, where the *Dutch* had Factories. *Roger Coke's* Detection, *&c.* Vol. II. p. 135.

ted by this Menace, returned it in the ſame Strain, he let him know that he would deſiſt from this Pretenſion in favour of him, provided he would deſiſt from the Guarantee of the *Dutch* Fiſhery. But *Lewis*, ſenſible that the *Dutch* would never go from that Clauſe, at laſt gave his Conſent to it, and the Treaty was brought to a Concluſion. 1664.

It appears from this, that *Charles* was then ſeeking a Quarrel with the *Dutch* on the Point of the Fiſhery. But finding that *France* was expreſsly engaged in the Guarantee of it, he himſelf entred into an Alliance with the *Dutch* this very Year, in Expectation of ſome more favourable Opportunity.

His Deſign was no longer deferred than till the Beginning of this Year 1664, when Preparations were made in *England* for a Fleet to act againſt *Cape Verd* and *Guinea*, under the Command of *Holms*. Shortly after ſome *Engliſh* Merchants laid before the Parliament Complaints of the *horrible* Depredations of the *Dutch*. But it was never known what thoſe Injuries were which they pretended to have received. This extraordinary way of Proceeding makes it clear that the Court was in good Underſtanding with thoſe who laid the Complaints before the Parliament. For naturally, and according to the uſual Practice in ſuch Caſes, they ought to have laid their Complaints firſt before the King. The King ought to have applied to the *States* for Redreſs, and, in caſe of a Refuſal, demanded Aſſiſtance of his Parliament. But here the Order was inverted: The Parliament was firſt applied to, which prayed the King to demand immediate Reparation, and offered their Aſſiſtance to carry on a War againſt the *States*, before it was known whether theſe Complaints had any good Foundation, or whether the *States* were inclineable to repair theſe pretended Damages. All this laid together makes it ſufficiently clear that the War had been reſolved before the Parliament knew any thing of the Cauſes and Grounds of it. For it was not till the Month of *May* that the King, by his Ambaſſador *Downing*, demanded

1664. demanded of the *States* a Reparation for these pretended Injuries.

What farther confirms what I have been saying, is, that upon the Prorogation of the Parliament the *Speaker* of the House of *Commons*, in a Speech to the King, told him, that the House having examined the Damages sustained from the *Dutch*, found that they amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*; though *Downing* had not yet given in his Memorial to the *States*, nor, consequently, received any Answer.

Acts. The 17th of *May* the King coming to the Parliament, the *Speaker* presented the *Bills* which were ready, and amongst the rest one for empowering the King to levy the *Chimney-Money* by his own Officers, as he had desired. This *Bill* was afterwards the Subject of great Vexations, Complaints and Murmurings, which obliged King *William* III to drop this Tax; though, as it had been levied in the Reigns of *Charles* II and *James* II, it amounted yearly to above Two Hundred and Fifty-six Thousand Pounds. After the *Speaker* had done with this *Bill*, he told the King:

The Speaker's Speech to the King

"While we were intent upon these weighty Affairs, we were often interrupted by *Petitions*, and "*Letters*, and *Motions*, representing the unsettled "Condition of some Counties by reason of *Phanaticks*, *Sectaries* and *Non-conformists*: They differ in "thair Shapes and Species, and accordingly are more "or less dangerous, but in this they all agree they "are no Friends to the established Government either "in Church or State, and if the old Rule be true, "*Qui Ecclesiæ contradicit non est Pacificus*, we have "great reason to prevent their Growth, and to punish their Practice. To this purpose we have prepared a Bill *against their frequenting of Conventicles*, "the Seed-Plots and Nurseries of their Opinions "under pretence of religious Worship. The first "Offence is made punishable with Five Pounds, or

"Three

" Three Months Impriſonment, and Ten Pounds for " a Peer: The ſecond Offence with Ten Pounds, " or Six Months Impriſonment, and Twenty Pounds " for a Peer: But the third Offence, after a Tryal " by a *Jury*, and the Tryal of a Peer by his Peers, " the Party convicted ſhall be tranſported to ſome " foreign Plantation, unleſs he lays down an Hun- " dred Pounds —— *Immedicabile vulnus Enſe reſcinden- " dum ne Pars ſincera trahatur.*" 1664.

A Reflection upon this Act.

The *Presbyterians* alone exceeded in Number all the other Sects put together. From the time of the Reſtoration they had never been accuſed of making any Inſurrection againſt the Government, or of having entred into the Conſpiracies of the *Anabaptiſts* and *Republicans*; nevertheleſs this *Act* ſubjected them to the ſame Penalties which were laid on the other *Sects*, and on Pretence that their religious *Meetings* were *Seminaries* of Sedition, and their Doctrines pernicious to the Government in Church and State, they were adjudged worthy to be tranſported into *America*, if they had the Boldneſs to meet the Third time. It appears from this extreme Rigour, that the Intention was not ſo much to puniſh their pretended Tranſgreſſions, as to drive them to Deſpair, and ſo force them into real Crimes.

Prorogation of the Parliament.

After the King had paſſed theſe *Acts* he prorogued the Parliament to the Month of *Auguſt*, ſignifying at the ſame time his Intention that it ſhould not meet till *November*, unleſs a certain Affair obliged him to ſummon it ſooner.

The King demands Reparation of Damages.

This Affair was the War which the King had reſolved on againſt the *States-General*. For this purpoſe *Downing* preſented to the *States* a Memorial drawn up in very high Terms, wherein he demanded on the Part of the King a Reparation for the Damages done to the *Engliſh*, which by his Calculation amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. After all the Pains I have taken, and all the Search I have made, I have not been able to diſcover any more

1664. more Particulars of these Damages, than the two Ships before-mentioned, and another Article relating to the Isle of *Poleron*, of which I shall speak hereafter. Wherefore, in Imitation of the *English* Historians, I find my self under a Necessity of leaving the Reader in the Dark with regard to the Particulars of the Damages which gave rise to this War.

An Ambassador sent from the States.

The King was resolved on War at all Hazards, and the *States* did all that lay in their Power to divert it. Nevertheless, not judging it proper to treat with *Downing*, who behaved to them with great Haughtiness, they answered his Memorial by saying, that they would send an Ambassador to the King: And accordingly, shortly after they dispatched *Van Goch*, who had his first Audience of the King the 25th of *June*. As he was speaking in this Audience of the Trade of *Africa* and the *Indies*, the King interrupted him, and said it was not to be endured that the *Dutch West-India*-Company should pretend, by means of three or four Ships, and a few Forts on the Coast of *Guinea*, to exclude other Nations from that Commerce. The Ambassador answered, that these things had been adjusted in the last Treaty, and the Question now was whether the *States* had violated that part of the Treaty or not. Afterwards, the *States* being informed of the Hostilities committed by *Holms* at *Cape Verd* and in *Guinea*, their Ambassador complained to the King, who answered, That he was altogether ignorant of what was doing in those Parts of the World. Some Days after the Ambassador presented a large Memorial on that Subject, with a fresh Complaint, that the King had forbid the Importation of any *Dutch* Commodities into *England*. The King answered to the first Article of this Memorial as before, that he had no knowledge of what was acting by *Holmes*; and to the second, that the Prohibition of Commodities was upon the Account of the Plague then reigning in *Holland*. It appeared in the Sequel, that the King looked on the Affair of *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* as no way relating to him, but

as

as a private Difference between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Companies, and therefore no Care had been taken to inform him about it. But it will be very difficult to conceive how the Duke of *York*, as Governour of the Royal *African*-Company, could ſend a Fleet of Twenty-one Men of War to *Guinea* without the King's Knowledge. 1664.

Preparations to the War.

While *Downing* at the *Hague*, and *Van Goch* at *London*, preſented Memorials upon Memorials without any Succeſs, the King was buſy in equipping his Fleet. Money being now low with him, he borrowed One Hundred Thouſand Pounds of the City of *London*, who willingly lent that Sum, believing that the King had only in view the raiſing the *Engliſh* Trade by the Deſtruction of that of *Holland*. The *States* on their Side made Preparations for a Defence, but not with the ſame Vigour that their Enemies were preparing to attack them. Their Deſign was to gain time, in hopes that their Fleets of Merchant-Men would return before the War was declared; and the King's Intention was to intercept thoſe Fleets before any Declaration of War.

The City of London *lends the King Money.*

The Engliſh *intercept the* Dutch *Merchant Men returning from* Bourdeaux *before the War was declared.*

The King diſcovered his Intention in a manner not poſſible to be miſtaken. For having put his Fleet to Sea under the Command of the Duke of *York* as High-Admiral, this Fleet met in *November*, with the *Dutch Bourdeaux*-Fleet Home-ward bound, laden with Wine and Brandy, and took One Hundred and Thirty of them, which were brought into *England*, and condemned for lawful Prizes, though War had not been yet proclaimed. It is not neceſſary to make any Reflexions on the King's Conduct, nor on the Judgement of the *Engliſh* Admiralty. Every unprejudiced Man will eaſily acknowledge that the Law of Nations was never more unjuſtly, or manifeſtly violated. The vain Endeavours of ſome Hiſtorians to palliate this Action with two Reaſons, only ſhew, by the Weakneſs of their Allegations, how little themſelves were convinced of the Juſtice of it. Their firſt Reaſon is, that about the ſame time *Ruyter* drove the

A Reflection upon this Procedure.

1664. the *Engliſh* from their Settlements at *Cape Verd*, and on the Coaſts of *Guinea*. But firſt they take no notice that theſe Settlements were pure Uſurpations of the *Engliſh*, who had this very Year diſpoſſeſſed the *Dutch* of them. Secondly, *Ruyter* did not recover the Forts at *Cape Verd* and on the Coaſts of *Guinea* till the following Year 1665. For it is to be obſerved, that *Holms* committed his Hoſtilities at *Cape Verd* in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, and afterwards ſailed to the Coaſts of *Guinea*, where he ſeized ſeveral Forts. The News therefore of this muſt firſt be brought to *Holland*, then the *States* had to ſend to *Ruyter* in the *Mediterranean* to repaſs the *Streights*, and make ſail to *Cape Verd*; and laſtly, *Ruyter* had his Orders to execute, and the News of his Expedition was to be brought to *England*. Now if all this could not be effected within the Compaſs of Six Weeks, how is it poſſible to juſtify the taking of the *Bourdeaux* Fleet in the Month of *November*, on account of the Expedition of *Ruyter* to *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* Three Months afterwards? The ſecond Reaſon given by theſe Hiſtorians is, that this was no War of the King's, but of the People and Parliament; as if, ſuppoſing it to be ſo, the People and the Parliament were leſs obliged than the King to obſerve the Law of Nations. But this was not the only Crime of this Nature in which King *Charles*'s eager Deſire of Money engaged him.

In the mean time the King of *France* apprehending that he would at laſt be involved in this War by aſſiſting the *States*, purſuant to the Treaty of 1662, believed it incumbent upon him to uſe ſome Endeavours to prevent it, and to that End offered his Mediation to the two Parties. The *States* willingly accepted it, but it was rejected by *Charles*, who ſaid, that he would enter into no Negotiation till he had received full Satisfaction to his Demands. He had already ſent Sir *Richard Fanſhaw* into *Spain*, and the Lord *Hollis* into *France*, to endeavour to bring thoſe Crowns to a War with the *Dutch*. But he was ſucceſsful

ceſsful neither at *Paris* nor *Madrid*. Notwithſtanding, he perſiſted in his Reſolution for the War, though he had no other Reaſons to alledge for it than the pretended Depredations committed by the *Dutch* upon the *Engliſh*, the Particulars of which were never known to this Day. 1664.

Conjectures upon the Grounds of this War.

When it is conſidered with what Animoſity this War was undertaken and carried on, not only by the King, the Duke of *York*, and the Miniſtry, but even by the Parliament itſelf, one can hardly help thinking that thoſe who excited this Animoſity had ſome other ſecret End than that of ſupporting Trade. But hitherto only Conjectures have been offered on this Subject. Some have ſaid that this War ought to be aſcribed ſolely to the Ambition of the Duke of *York*, who was impatient to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by commanding, as Lord High-Admiral, the King his Brother's Fleet. Others have believed that the King finding his Coffers quite empty, notwithſtanding all the Money given him by the Parliament, and that raiſed by the Sale of *Dunkirk*, ſecretly engaged the Parliament to propoſe this War to him, for a Pretence of demanding extraordinary Supplies, which were by no means to be all expended in the Proſecution of this War. There are others who have believed that the King, the Parliament, the City of *London*, found this War abſolutely neceſſary to humble the Maritime Power of the *Dutch*, who aimed to engroſs the whole Commerce of *Europe*, as they had already done that of the *Indies*: That although the Cauſes of the War were never fully made known, yet all the World was ſufficiently apprized that it was on account of Trade. Laſtly, there are others who have ſuſpected that the Project to introduce *Popery* into *England* being already formed, the Execution of it was only reſpited till the *Dutch* were rendred unable to aid the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, ſince it was only from them that they could expect Aſſiſtance. I ſhall not take upon me to determine what were the ſecret Motives of this War, which certainly was undertaken

1664. dertaken on very ſlight Grounds, as will more fully appear afterwards.

The King's Speech to the Parliament for Money.

The Parliament meeting the 24th of *November*, after two Prorogations, the King made a Speech to both Houſes upon the Affair then in Hand; namely, the War with the *States-General*. He ſaid, that upon the Stock of his own Credit he had put a Fleet to Sea the moſt formidable that *England* had ever ſeen, and which had coſt him Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds; the Drift of this was to demand of the *Commons* a proportionable Supply. He then added, ——"I know not whether it will be worth my Pains "to endeavour to remove a vile Jealouſy which "ſome ill Men ſcatter Abroad, and which I am ſure "will never ſink into the Breaſt of any Man who "is worthy to ſit upon your Benches; *That when* "*you have given me a noble and proportionable Supply* "*for the ſupport of the War, I may be induced by ſome* "*evil Counſellors* (for they will be thought to think "very reſpectfully of my own Perſon) *to make a ſud-* "*den Peace, and get all that Money for my own pri-* "*vate Occaſions.* I am ſure you all think it an un- "worthy Jealouſy, and not to deſerve an Anſwer. "I would not be thought to have ſo brutiſh an In- "clination to love War for War's ſake. God "knows I deſire no Bleſſing in the World ſo much, "as that I may live to ſee a firm Peace between all "*Chriſtian* Princes and States. But let me tell you, "and you may be confident of it, That when I am "compelled to enter into a War, for the Protection, "Honour, and Benefit of my Subjects, I will, God "willing, not make a Peace, but upon the obtain- "ing and ſecuring thoſe Ends for which the War is "entered into: And when that can be done, no "good Man will be ſorry for the Determination "of it."

We ſhall ſee hereafter how the King diſcharged his Promiſe made in this Speech. After he had done, he farther declared to them, That he did intend the Lord-Chancellor ſhould have acquainted them with the

the Indignities put upon him by the *Dutch*, and the Artifices with which they had evaded all Overtures of a Peace; but that the Chancellor having been taken Ill with the Gout, he had ordered the Narrative intended to be ſpoken by him, to be put into Writing, and he delivered the ſame to the two Houſes. 1664.

It will eaſily be imagined that this Narrative contained nothing but what was proper to inflame the Parliament. But no Hiſtorians have yet been ſo kind as to give us the Contents, and it may be they never knew them *. Be that as it will, the King found the Parliament ſo well inclined to ſecond him, that the two Houſes, by a Deputation of ſix Lords and twelve Commoners, ſent their Thanks to the City of *London* for their Loan to the King. A few Days after, the *Commons* voted the King a Supply of two Millions five Hundred Phouſand Pounds, towards the Maintenance of a War ſo neceſſary to the State; and in leſs than three Weeks time, *Ways* and *Means* were found for the raiſing that Sum within the Space of three Years; after which the Houſes adjourned themſelves to the 12th of *January*.

The Parliament thanks the City of London.

Votes a large Supply to the King, and adjourns it ſelf.

Immediately after the King publiſhed a Declaration, by which he impowered his Subjects to make Reprizals upon all Ships belonging to the *Dutch* Companies, and others the Subjects of the *States-General*. And he enjoined the *Court of Admiralty* to condemn them as Prizes according to the *Courſe of*, and agreeably to, the Admiralty Laws, and the Law of Nations. This Declaration was founded upon the ineſtimable Damages, and Inſults done to the *Engliſh*, without ſpecification of any one Particular.

A Declaration publiſhed for Reprizals upon the Dutch.

After the *Bourdeaux* Fleet had been ſeized and condemned, the *Engliſh* kept no Meaſures, but took all the *Dutch* Ships which came in their way, notwithſtanding the War was not yet proclaimed; but Matters grew worſe after this Declaration was publiſhed.

The Engliſh *take a great many* Dutch *Veſſels.*

* The King called it *a Narrative, concerning the Treaty and Manner of Proceedings with the* Dutch.

1664-5. When the *States* were informed of the Hostilities committed by *Holmes* at *Cape Verd* and *Guinea*, they dispatched an Express to *Ruyter*, to order him to repass the *Streights*, and make Sail towards these Coasts, to recover what the *Dutch West-India* Company had lost. *Ruyter* executed this Order with great Vigour, and retook most of the Forts the *English* had taken from the Company. He likewise seized several Ships belonging to the *English*. The News of this reached *London* the beginning of *February*, and furnished the King with a new Pretence for the Declaration of War, which was published a few Days after.

Ruyter recovers the Places taken from the Dutch *at* Cape Verd *and* Guinea.

The Money Bill is passed.

The Parliament meeting the 12th of *January*, the House of *Commons* went immediately upon the Money *Bill*, as the most pressing Affair. This *Bill* being ready, the King came to the House to give his Assent; which done, he proclaimed War against the *States-General* in due and usual Form. The Declaration was founded upon the numberless Injuries and inexpressible Dangers which the *English* had suffered from the *Dutch*, without being able to come at any Reparation. The King added, That he did not detain the Ships belonging to the *Dutch*, till he found that Orders had been given to *Ruyter* not only to abandon the Consortship against the *Algerines*, to which he had been invited, but also to use all Acts of Depredation against his Subjects in *Africa*. He therefore declared to the whole World that the *Dutch* were the Aggressors, and ought in Justice to be so looked upon by all Men.

A Remark upon this Declaration.

What is truly astonishing in this Declaration is, that the King took no Care to preserve even the Appearances of Truth, as if his Subjects and all *Europe* had been void of common Sense, or no Body known that the Fleet from *Bourdeaux* had been intercepted in *November*, before *Ruyter* had reached *Guinea*. He would have all the World ignorant, because he had a Mind to be thought so himself, that *Holms* had begun his Hostilities at *Cape Verd* and *Guinea* in the Months of *August* and *September*. In short, he would have

have all the World believe him on his bare Word, that the *Engliſh* had ſuffered ineſtimable Loſſes, and yet not one was ſpecified. This Declaration was ſupported with the Opinions of Twenty two Privy-Counſellors only, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Clarendon* having been either unable, or unwilling to be preſent when it was reſolved. It bore Date the 22d of *February*, but was not made Publick till the 2d of *March*. 1664-5.

The Parliament prorogued.

The King having Notice that ſome Bills were ready for the Royal Aſſent, came to the Parliament the 2d of *March*, and after he had paſſed theſe Bills, which, as of no great Importance, I forbear to mention; he prorogued the Parliament to the 21ſt of *June*. Afterwards he continued the Prorogation to the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, and then to the 9th of *October*.

The Clergy give up their Right of taxing themſelves.

In this Seſſion the Clergy voluntarily gave up their Right of Taxing themſelves in *Convocation*, and from this Time have been confounded with the reſt of the People with regard to the Publick Taxes. This has made *Convocations* leſs neceſſary to the King, and by Conſequence leſs conſiderable in themſelves.

1665.

The War being declared, the Duke of *York*, in the end of *March*, repaired to the Fleet which he was to command, conſiſting of one Hundred and ſeven Men of War, and fourteen Fire-Ships. But as the Fleet was not yet quite ready, he could not ſail till the Month of *May*.

The King of France's Conduct with regard to the War between England and Holland.

Some Time ſince the *States*, perceiving that a War was unavoidable, had preſſed the King of *France* to declare againſt *England*, purſuant to the Treaty of the Year 1662, but had not yet been able to prevail. *Charles* on his Side ſollicited him to abandon the *States*, and laid before him very tempting Advantages. So that *Lewis* was at a ſtand. He was deſirous to keep fair with the King of *England*, whom he foreſaw, he might one Day ſtand in need of: And on the other Hand, if he ſhould abandon the *States*, there was Danger of their being oppreſſed with the Weight of

1665. this War, and that the Penſioner *De Wit* might loſe all his Credit and Intereſt with them. This, ſhould it happen, he conſidered, would be attended with a Change in the Government; the young Prince of *Orange* would be reſtored to the Dignities of his Anceſtors, and conſequently the King of *England* became in effect the Maſter of *Holland*. It was through the ſole Influence of the *Penſioner* that the *States* were attached to the Intereſts of *France*, and conſequently his Fall muſt be attended with great Prejudice to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Part therefore which *Lewis* choſe, was to gain as much Time as he could, ſometimes by cavilling at the Terms of the Treaty of 1662, ſometimes by hopes given to the *States* of his declaring againſt *England*, and laſtly, by a ſplendid Ambaſſy to *London*, with the Duke of *Verneuil* at the Head of it, to mediate a Peace between *England* and *Holland*. In order to know fully the Situation his Affairs were then in, let us hear what he ſays himſelf in his Letter to the Count *d'Eſtrades* his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, dated the 19th of *December* 1664.

His Letter to the Count d' Eſtrades.

" Nevertheleſs I own to you that I find my ſelf in " ſome Difficulties. If I execute the Treaty accord- " ing to the Letter, I ſhall very much prejudice my " principal Intereſt, and this in favour of a Nation, " which not only will never be ſerviceable to me, " but even oppoſite to my Intereſt in the only Caſe " where I ſhould have occaſion for them, and when- " ever that happens, the Aſſiſtance which they will " have received from me will turn to my Diſadvan- " tage. Beſides this, I loſe *England*, which is upon " the Point of concluding a ſtrict Alliance with " *Spain*, in caſe the Offers it makes me are rejected. " And theſe Offers, for I may truſt you with the Se- " cret, are a Conceſſion of every Thing which I can " deſire with regard to the *Netherlands*, without one " Inch of Ground deſired for *England*. Beſides the " King of *England* himſelf ſuggeſts to me the means " of diſengaging with Honour from my Obligations " to the *Dutch*. He pretends that they are the Aggreſſors;

" greſſors ; that he has a Right to the Forts which 1665.
" they have ſeized in *Guinea* : That they firſt ap-
" peared in Arms : That they have made a National
" Quarrel of a private Difference between two *Com-*
" *panies*, who ought to have ended their own Diſ-
" putes : That they committed the firſt Act of Vio-
" lence in their unhandſome Uſage of one of his
" Ships laden with Maſts from *Sweden*. That how-
" ever, I am only engaged for what paſſes in *Eu-*
" *rope* : That it is viſible that only this Difference
" relating to *Guinea* has any Difficulty to decide, all
" other Pretenſions being eaſy to determine : That
" it is by no means juſt that their capricious Obſti-
" nacy, to maintain a Country, for which I am un-
" der no Engagement, ſhould kindle a War on this
" Side the World, becauſe as I am only obliged for
" the Principal, I cannot ſtand engaged for the Ad-
" ditions and Dependencies. I omit the Trick play-
" ed me by the *States* at *Munſter*, &c. This is to be
" a Secret between you and me."

Reflections upon this Letter.

I cannot forbear making ſome Remarks upon this Letter.

The Firſt is, that it is manifeſt from hence, that the King of *France* had no Hand at all in exciting the War between *England* and *Holland*, as moſt of the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians pretend.

The Second is, that if *Charles* had really aimed at the Welfare of his Kingdom in undertaking this War, he would not have offered the King of *France* ſuch unlimitted Conditions with regard to the *Netherlands*, only to have it in his Power to deſtroy *Holland*. This was directly oppoſite to the Intereſts of *England*, and of quite another Importance than the Satisfaction demanded for the Injuries which his Subjects might have received from the *Dutch*.

My third Remark is, that one ſees not in theſe Allegations of *Charles* to *Lewis*, to prove the *Dutch* to be the Aggreſſors, any Thing of the pretended Damages of Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds : But

1665. that the principal Point in Diſpute was the Propriety of ſome Forts on the Coaſt of *Guinea*, which according to what *Charles* alledged, was only an Affair between two *Companies*, and that the reſt was eaſy to be adjuſted.

My fourth Remark is, that *Charles* ſuppoſes the *States* to have made it a National Quarrel, by ſending *Ruyter* to *Guinea*; but that himſelf had not meddled in this Affair, as *Lawſon* had been only ſent with Twenty-one Sail, in the Name of the Duke of *York*, and the Royal *African*-Company.

My laſt Remark is, that the *States* had no Reaſon to expect any great Aſſiſtance from *France*, unleſs the Fate of War ſhould reduce them to a Neceſſity of having it, or the King of *France* ſhould find ſome conſiderable Advantage in eſpouſing their Quarrel.

It was therefore to gain Time that the Ambaſſy was ſent to *London*, becauſe *Lewis* pretended, that whilſt he could have any hope of an Accommodation, he was not obliged to declare againſt *England*. Now as long as his Ambaſſadors were at *London*, he might ſay that the hope of a Reconciliation was not entirely deſperate. He managed ſo artfully, that he kept them there till the End of the Year 1665, ſo that he declared not againſt *England* till *January* 1666, and that when he did declare the *States* received no great Advantage from it.

The Duke of York *ſails out with the* Engliſh *Fleet.*

The Duke of *York* put to Sea with the *Engliſh* Fleet in the Month of *May*; and before the *Dutch* Fleet could be got together, he alarmed the Coaſts of *Holland*. He continued fifteen Days together near the *Texel*, to prevent the Fleet of *Holland* from coming out to join that of *Zealand*, in which he could not fail of Succeſs. During this ſpace he took ſeveral *Dutch* Ships, which fell into his Hands as they were returning Home, and had heard nothing of the War. Nevertheleſs, as the War was not undertaken merely to prevent this Junction, the Duke at laſt ſailed away with a Deſign to fall upon *Ruyter*, who was returning to *Holland* by an Order from the *States*. But the

Duke

Duke finding that his Proviſions were conſumed in an uncertain Expectation, he drew his Fleet into the Road of *Harwich*, contenting himſelf with ſending out ſome Frigates to cruiſe in the Channel, and bring him Intelligence of the Enemy. 1665.

The Fleet of the States.

In the mean while the *Holland* and *Zealand* Squadrons joined and formed a Fleet of one Hundred and Twenty-one Men of War, beſides Fire-Ships, under the chief Command of *Obdam de Waſſenaer*. He had under him *Cortenaer* Vice-Admiral of the *Maeſe*, *Evertzen* Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, and *Cornelius Tromp* Son of the famous *Martin Tromp*. The Rear-Admirals and Captains were very far from equalling their Superiours in Capacity, more Care having been taken to fill theſe Poſts with the Relations and Friends of the *Penſioner*'s Confidents, than with experienced Officers. So that excepting fifteen or ſixteen Captains, the reſt were unexperienced Officers: this is a Misfortune to which Republicks are more liable than Monarchies. Although *De Wit* governed Affairs as he pleaſed, yet he had for Enemies all the *Partizans* of the Houſe of *Orange*, who were Spies upon his Conduct, and gave every Thing he did an invidious Turn, in order to effect his Ruin. The *Penſioner* was not ignorant of this, and therefore believed that the only way to ſecure himſelf, and preſerve his Authority, was to hazard a Naval Engagement. Succeſs would diſarm the Malice of his Enemies, and the Loſs of a Battle would of courſe oblige the *French* to execute the Treaty of 1662, and ſilence the Murmurs of the Faction of the Houſe of *Orange*, which induſtriouſly publiſhed that *Lewis* only intended to amuſe the *States*. Agreeably to this Reſolution, to which the *Penſioner* had likewiſe brought the *States*, an Order was diſpatched to *Obdam*, to go in queſt of, and fight the Enemy. He obeyed, and came up with them the 1ſt of *June*, not far from *Harwich* *, But the Wind being ſoutherly, and the Day

Put under the Command of Obdam.

Who receives Orders to fight.

* *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, twelve Miles from *Colcheſter*.

1665. Day after in the Morning, South-West, he retired to the Mouth of the *Maese*. He acquainted the *States* by an Expreſs, with the Reaſon of his Retreat, and that he did not judge it proper to fall upon the *Engliſh* while they had the Advantage of the Wind. But he received Orders ſtill more poſitive to fight let the Wind be as it would, on the Peril of anſwering the contrary with his Head. After ſo expreſs an Order, and no means left him to draw back, he weighed Anchor at the Break of Day, and in the ſpace of an Hour diſcovered the *Engliſh* Fleet divided into three Squadrons. The firſt under the *Red Flag*, was commanded by the Duke of *York*, aſſiſted by *Pen* and *Lawſon*. The Second being the *White* Squadron, was under the Conduct of Prince *Rupert*, aſſiſted by *Minns* and *Sanſon*. The Third which was the *Blue* Squadron, was under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who had with him *Cuttins* and Sir *George Ayſcough*.

Sea Fight gained by the Engliſh. *Death of* Obdam.

I ſhall not attempt a Deſcription of this Engagement, fought the 3d of *June*, for which I own I am not very well qualified. I ſhall therefore only ſay in a Word, that the *Dutch* Fleet was beaten, chiefly by the ill Conduct of ſeveral Captains who were wanting in their Duty; by the Death of *Obdam*, who with his Ship and all his Men were blown up; by that of *Cortenaer* who was killed upon the Deck after he had hoiſted the Admiral-Flag, and by many other Cauſes which are ſcarce Intelligible to any but thoſe who are verſed in Sea-Affairs. The *Dutch* loſt nineteen Ships burnt and ſunk, with about ſix Thouſand Men. On the *Engliſh* Side, the Loſs was only four Ships, and about fifteen Hundred Men, among whom were the Earl of *Falmouth*, Admiral *Sanſon*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, who died ſhortly after of his Wounds *. The Remains of the *Dutch* Fleet

* And likewiſe the Lord *Muskerry*, and the honourable Mr. *Boyle*, theſe two with the Lord *Falmouth*, were killed with the ſame Cannon-Ball, juſt by the Duke of *York*. The Earl of *Portland* was likewiſe killed.

Fleet retired to the *Maeſe* or the *Texel*, and were purſued all the next Day being *Sunday*, though according to ſome the Duke of *York* did not in this Purſuit diſcover the ſame Ardour he had ſhown in the *Engagement*. See what Doctor *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſays of it in his Poſthumous Hiſtory of his own Times. 1665.

That famous Hiſtorian ſays, " After the Fight a " Council of War was called to concert the Method " of Action when they ſhould come up with them. " In that Council *Penn*, who commanded under the " Duke, happened to ſay, that they muſt prepare " for better Work the next Engagement. He knew " well the Courage of the *Dutch* was never ſo high " as when they were deſperate. The Earl of *Mon-* " *tague*, who was then a Volunteer, and one of the " Duke's Court, told me, it was very viſible that made " an Impreſſion upon him: And all the Duke's Do- " meſticks ſaid, he had got Honour enough: Why " ſhould he venture a ſecond Time: The Dutcheſs " had alſo given a ſtrict Charge to all the Duke's " Servants to do all they could to hinder him to in- " gage too far. When Matters were ſettled they " went to Sleep; and the Duke ordered a Call to " be given him when they ſhould get up with the " *Dutch* Fleet. It is not known what paſſed between " the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of his Bed- " Chamber, and then in Waiting; but he came to " *Penn* as from the Duke, and ſaid, the Duke or- " dered the Sail to be ſlackened. *Penn* was ſtruck " with the Order, but did not go to argue the Mat- " ter with the Duke himſelf as he ought to have " done, but obeyed it. When the Duke had ſlept, " he upon his waking went out upon the Quarter- " Deck, and ſeemed amazed to ſee the Sails ſlacken- " ed, and that thereby all hopes of overtaking the " *Dutch* was loſt. He queſtioned *Penn* upon it. " *Penn* put it upon *Brounker*, who ſaid nothing. " The Duke denied he had given any ſuch Order. " But he neither puniſhed *Brounker* for carrying it, Burnet, P. 218.

" nor

1665. " nor *Penn* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker*
" out of his Service, and it was ſaid, that he durſt
" do no more, *Brounker* was ſo much in the King's
" Favour and the Miſtreſs's. *Penn* was more in his
" Favour after that than ever before, which he con-
" tinued to his Son after him, though a *Quaker*.
" And it was thought that all that Favour was to ob-
" lige him to keep the Secret. Lord *Montague* did
" believe that the Duke was ſtruck, ſeeing the Earl
" of *Falmouth* the King's Favourite, and two other
" Perſons of Quality killed very near him, and that
" he had no Mind to engage again, and that *Penn*
" was privately with him. If *Brounker* was ſo much
" in the Fault as he ſeemed to be, it was thought
" the Duke, in the Paſſion that this muſt have raiſed
" in him, would have proceeded to greater Ex-
" tremities, and not have acted with ſo much
" Phlegm.".

The Duke of *York* finding that it would be to no Purpoſe to continue the Purſuit of the Enemy's Fleet, retired to the Coaſts of *England*, and rid Poſt to *Whitehall* to receive the Acclamations of the Court and Citizens of *London*. The King appointed a Day of Thankſgiving throughout the Kingdom for this Victory, and ſeveral Medals were ſtruck in Honour of the Victorious Duke of *York*, who was now in the Height of his Glory. For beſides that he was Lord High-Admiral, Governour of the *Cinque-Ports*, and of *Portſmouth*, and had the Benefit of the *Poſt-Office*, and the *Wine-Licences*, which, all together, enabled him to keed a ſplendid Court, he had an Advantage ſtill far more conſiderable. This was the Regard paid him as preſumptive Heir to the King his Brother, who had no Children by his Queen. This tied Numbers to his Intereſts, particularly the *Papiſts*, who knew his Religion, though he, as well as the King, kept it yet a Secret.

Medals ſtruck in honour of the Duke of York.

Shortly

Shortly after the Queen-Mother having taken a Reſolution to end her Days in *France*, the King and the Duke of *York* attended her to the *Buoy of the Nore*, and there took their laſt Leave of her. It is very likely that ſhe was not pleaſed with having ſo ſmall a Share in the Publick Affairs, as ſhe had been uſed to the contrary in the preceeding Reign. 1665. *The Queen-Mother returns into* France.

Glorious as this firſt Action upon the Sea had proved to the Duke of *York*, the King and Council did not think it proper to expoſe him to the Dangers of a ſecond Engagement. Therefore the Command of the Fleet was given to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who uſed all his Endeavours to have it ready to put to Sea as ſoon as poſſible, in order to be before-hand with the *States*, who laboured to repair theirs with all Diligence. Beſides, the *States*, who had put *Ruyter* in the Place of *Obdam*, ordered him to return immediately with the Fleet, conſiſting of Seventeen Men of War. Theſe Precautions were not taken ſo much with a Deſign to have a Revenge upon the *Engliſh*, as to ſecure their Merchant-men Home-ward bound from *Smyrna* and the *Eaſt-Indies*. The *Engliſh*, on their Side, were leſs deſirous to fight than to ſeize the Riches which thoſe Fleets were bringing to *Holland*. *The* Engliſh *Fleet put under the Command of the Earl of* Sandwich, *and that of the* Dutch *under* Ruyter.

It happened in the mean Time, that the *Dutch-Smyrna*-Fleet, and ſeveral *Eaſt-India* Ships not daring to come into *the Channel*, retired to the Port of *Berghen* in *Norway*, waiting for *Ruyter* to convoy them to *Holland*. During this, the King of *Denmark*, diſcourſing one Day with Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Engliſh* Envoy, made great Complaints of the *Dutch*, who, he ſaid, had drawn the *Swediſh* War on him, that he might be forced to depend on them for Supplies, and to get the Cuſtoms of *Norway* and *the Sound* into their Hands for Security. Upon this the Envoy told him, that he had now a good Opportunity of taking his Revenge upon them by a ſeizure of their Ships at *Berghen*, which amounted to ſeveral Millions. But the King anſwering that he was not *Several* Dutch *Ships retire to* Berghen *in* Norway.

1665. in a Condition to Execute such a Design; the Envoy told him that he made no Doubt but the King of *England* would lend him his Ships, provided he might be assured of half of the Spoil: To which the King of *Denmark* gave his consent. The King of *England* was pleased with *Talbot*'s Project, and sent immediately Orders to the Earl of *Sandwich* to set Sail and seize the *Dutch* Ships lying at *Berghen*. The Admiral readily obeyed, though he had received no Intimation of the Agreement between the two Kings.

The Kings of England *and* Denmark *attempt to seize them.*

The Project miscarries.

To succeed in this Design, it was absolutely necessary to inform the Vice-roy of *Norway*, and the Governour of *Berghen* of it, that they might favour it by pretending to protect the *Dutch* Ships, the King of *Denmark* not caring to appear openly in it. Nor was it less necessary to acquaint the Earl of *Sandwich* with it, in order to prepare him against the Noise and Complaints of the Governour of *Berghen*, on account of the Attempt and Violence of the *English*. But several unlucky Accidents ruined this Affair. The Governour of *Berghen*, who was to have received Orders from the Vice-roy of *Norway*, was not acquainted in time. And *Talbot*'s Express sent from *Copenhagen*, to the *English* Fleet, was taken by the *Dutch*. In fine, the Earl of *Sandwich* being informed that *Ruyter* was shortly expected, and being desirous to strike the Blow before his Arrival, detached the Squadron commanded by Sir *Thomas Tiddiman*, who fell upon the *Dutch* with great Resolution. But they had now had Time to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. On the other Hand the Governour of *Berghen*, who had yet received no express Orders about the Affair, seeing this open Hostility, and observing that the Shot from the *English* damaged the Town, he fired upon the *English* Squadron from the Citadel. In a Word, this Squadron was almost entirely ruined, and obliged to return to the Fleet without having succeeded in the Attempt. The Day after, the 14th of *August*, Orders came to the

But are disappointed.

the Governour of *Berghen*, but it was then too late. 1665.
It appears that the King was not pleaſed with the Earl of *Sandwich*'s Conduct, becauſe inſtead of continuing him in the command of the Fleet, he ſent him Ambaſſador to the Court of *Spain*.

Ruyter *arrives in* Holland.

Mean while, *Ruyter* arriving in *Holland* with a great many *Engliſh* Prizes, took the Oath to the *States* as Vice-Admiral-General, and then went to take the command of the Fleet conſiſting of 93 good Ships. But though he bore the Title of Admiral, three Commiſſioners attended him, that is to ſay *De Wit* the Penſioner, *Huygens* and *Borreel*, who had, properly ſpeaking, the Command. The Deſign of theſe Commiſſioners was to meet the *India* Fleet, which was to Sail round by *Ireland*, to avoid coming into *the Channel*. But the Wind was ſo contrary, that the Fleet could not have got ſoon enough out of the *Texel*, if the *Penſioner*, who underſtood Sea Affairs very well, had not by ſounding it himſelf all over very carefully, found more Ways to get out by different Winds, than was thought formerly practicable. So the Fleet at laſt ſailed out, and appeared before *Berghen*, where the Commiſſioners gave their Orders for convoying the Merchant-men which were in that Port. But it was not in their Power to prevent a Storm, which diſperſed them, and threw twenty of them into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. This Storm obliged *Ruyter* and the Commiſſioners to return back to *Holland*, with their Fleet very much ſhattered.

Puts to Sea.

Brings the Ships from Berghen.

A great Plague in London.

While theſe Affairs were tranſacting Abroad, the Plague committed terrible Ravages in *London*, where it had broke out in the Month of *May*. It is ſaid, that in leſs than a Year, it ſwept away, in that ſingle City, more than a Hundred Thouſand Souls. The King had from the firſt withdrawn to *Hampton-Court*; but afterwards, to be at a greater diſtance from *London*, he went to reſide at *Salisbury*.

Deſigns of the Republicans.

It appears, that this Year, the *Republicans* had formed a Deſign for an Inſurrection, and were even encouraged

1665. encouraged by Emiſſaries from the *States-General*, who would not have been ſorry to ſee the King embroiled with Domeſtick Troubles. But this was only a bare Project, which had no other Effect than to give the Enemies of the *Non-Conformiſts* a Handle to magnify the Danger with which the Kingdom was threatened from the Enemies of the Church of *England* in general, and conſequently to bring in the *Presbyterians*, who had no Hand in the Deſigns of the *Republicans*.

Made a Handle to injure the Presbyterians.

The Biſhop of Munſter *falls upon the* Dutch.

It was not only againſt *England* that the *States-General* had to defend themſelves. *Charles* had brought another Enemy upon their Backs, who gave them no leſs Trouble. This was the famous *Bernard Van Ghalen* Biſhop of *Munſter*, who, upon very ſlight Pretences, entred the Province of *Overyſſel* at the Head of an Army paid by the *Engliſh*. He made himſelf Maſter of a great many ſmall Places, and then attempted to ſurprize *Groningen*, but was repulſed. At laſt, before the End of the Campaign, the King of *France*, and the Dukes of *Lunenburg* having ſent a powerful Aſſiſtance to the *States*, the Biſhop ſaw himſelf obliged to quit his great Projects, and think of a Peace, and the rather, becauſe the Money promiſed by the King of *England* was by no Means regularly paid.

The Parliament meets at Oxford.

The Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 7th of *October*, met on the Day appointed; but the meeting was at *Oxford*, on account of the Plague which ſtill made great Havock in *London*, but did not much infeſt other Parts of the Kingdom.

The King's Speech.

In his Speech to both Houſes, the King let them know that the Supply of the two Millions five Hundred Thouſand Pounds granted him towards the Maintenance of the War, was upon the Matter already ſpent. He inſiſted particularly upon the great Sums paid to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, for the Diverſion which he gave to the Forces of the *States*, though it appears from Sir *William Temple*'s Letters, that theſe Sums were never well paid.

After

After the King had done ſpeaking, the Chancellor by his Order enlarged upon the ſame Subject, to ſignify to the *Commons* that they could not excuſe themſelves from putting the King in a Condition to proſecute a War at once ſo glorious and neceſſary. Afterwards he ſpoke to the Deſign formed by the *Republicans*, for the ſubverſion of the Government. But in aggravating with great Heat and Eloquence the Endeavours uſed by theſe Men, he took particular Care not to diſtinguiſh them from the other Sects of *Non-Conformiſts*. It was a ſtanding Artifice, as I before obſerved, to apply to the *Presbyterians*, under the Denomination of *Non-Conformiſts*, all the Actions and Extravagances of the *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Republicans* in general. 1665. *Another by the Chancellor.*

In a very few Days the *Commons* voted the King a new Supply of twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds to continue the War, and one Hundred twenty Thouſand Pounds to the Duke of *York*, for the great Service he had done to the Nation. *Money granted the King.*

After this, was brought into the Houſe a *Bill*, which paſſed without any difficulty. This *Bill* contained in Subſtance, "That no *Non-Conformiſt* "Teacher under what Denomination ſoever ſhall "dwell, or come, unleſs upon the Road, within "five Miles of any *Corporation*, or any other Place "where they had been Miniſters, or had preached, "after *the Act of Oblivion*, unleſs they firſt took the "following Oath." *I do ſwear that it is not lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor the traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch Commiſſions; and that I will not at any Time endeavour any Alteration of Government either in Church or State* *. *The Five-Mile Act.*

* The Penalty was Forty Pounds, and Six Months Impriſonment, unleſs they took the ſaid Oath before their Commitment. This Act was called *the Five-Mile-Act.*

1665. The Reaſon alledged in the Act to juſtify this Severity was, that the Miniſters had ſettled themſelves in the *Corporations* to the Number of three or four in a Place, and took Opportunities to inſtill into the Minds of the Subjects, their poyſonous Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion, to the great Danger of the Church and Kingdom.

Reaſons urged againſt it. This *Bill* met with great Oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords, even from the Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treaſurer, and intimate Friend of the Earl of *Clarendon*, chief contriver of the Perſecution againſt the *Non-Conformiſts*: Indeed, the Oath required to be taken by the *Non-conforming* Miniſters went upon a Suppoſition, which was not generally allowed; and this was, that every good Subject and good Chriſtian, was obliged in Conſcience to believe what was contained in this Oath, otherwiſe it was abſurd to impoſe it upon the Miniſters. For there is a wide Difference betwixt enjoyning a certain Practice, and obliging one Part of the Subjects to ſwear that they believe it to be founded in Religion and Conſcience, while the reſt are left free, either to believe or not believe it. Wherefore the *Commons*, being aware of the force of this Objection, prepared a *Bill* to oblige all the Subjects to take the ſame Oath. But the *Bill* was thrown out, though only by two or three Voices.

It paſſes. At laſt, notwithſtanding all Difficulties the *Act* juſt now mentioned, called the *Five-Mile-Act*, paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and the King gave it the Royal Aſſent the 31ſt of *October*, and at the ſame Time to the *Money-Bill* and ſome others, after which he prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of *February* 1665-6.

The Parliament prorogued.

Reaſons alledged to juſtify the Five-Mile Act. Several Writers have taken Pains to juſtify the Rigour of the *Five-Mile-Act*, and the Subſtance of what they have ſaid amounts to this ——— That this Rigour was occaſioned more by the ſeditious Behaviour of the *Non-Conformiſts*, than by the Exerciſe of their Religion. By this Reaſoning the Ambiguity of the Word *Non-Conformiſt* is ever retained, as if all the *Sects* included in this Denomination formed

only one and the ſame Body, united by the ſame common Doctrines and Intereſts, which is notoriouſly falſe. The *Presbyterians* alone were conſiderably more Numerous than all the other *Non-Conformiſts* put together, and they had Doctrines and Intereſts really ſeparate from thoſe of the other *Sects*. They could not be, nor were they, accuſed of having any Hand in the Conſpiracies, real or pretended, of the *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts* ſince the King's Reſtoration; who had even given them a poſitive Aſſurance that they ſhould not be moleſted for their Religion, in conſideration of the great Services they had done him. Nevertheleſs, becauſe their Enemies had the Addreſs to include them in the general Denomination of *Non-Conformiſts*, they were to have their ſhare in the Puniſhment due to the other *Sects*, with whom they had no manner of Concern or Intereſt. Wherefore the Reader may judge whether their Religion drew no part of this Severity upon them. In ſhort, the ſole *ambiguity* of the Word *Non-Conformiſt* ſerved to refute the Objections and juſt Complaints of the *Presbyterians*. 1665.

Extreme Rigour ſhewn to the Presbyterians *in* Scotland.

This ſame Year the Council of *Scotland* diſcovered no leſs Heat and Animoſity againſt the *Presbyterians*, on Pretence of ſome Inſolence committed by a private Miniſter named *Alexander Smith*; a Proclamation was publiſhed the 24th of *December*, ordering that all the ſilenced *Presbyterian* Miniſters ſhould, within forty Days, remove themſelves and their Families from the Places where they had been Miniſters, and that they ſhould not reſide within twenty Miles of the ſame, or within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, or any *Cathedral Church*, nor within three Miles of any Royal Borough, nor ſhould be more than two together in the ſame Pariſh, on Pain of incurring the Penalties of the Law againſt Movers of Sedition. I own, that I ſee no other Difference betwixt ſentencing Men to Death, and putting them out of a capacity to live, but this, that the latter Puniſhment gives to thoſe who inflict it a more exquiſite

1665. quiſite Vengeance. But this Rigour will appear the more extreme, if it is conſidered that the *Presbyterians* made, properly ſpeaking, the Body of the *Scotch* Nation.

1665-6. *France declares War againſt* England. In the beginning of the Year 1666, the King found his Affairs in an ill Situation. The King of *France*, preſſed by the repeated Inſtances of the *States-General*, recalled his Ambaſſadors out of *England*, and publiſhed the 19th of *January* a Declaration of War againſt *England*. This was not owing to his Belief that the Affairs of the *States* were reduced to Extremities, (for the Sequel ſhewed that they could defend themſelves without his Aſſiſtance) but to a Regard for the *Penſioner*, who being entirely attached to his Intereſt, could no longer ſupport himſelf without this Declaration, which, as will afterwards appear, brought no great Prejudice to *England*.

The King of Denmark *joins with the* States. On the other Hand the *States* found Means to draw the King of *Denmark* into their Intereſt, by an Engagement to pay him yearly, during the continuance of the War, fifteen Hundred Thouſand *Florins*, three Hundred Thouſand of which were to be paid by the King of *France*. For this he was willing to keep a Fleet of thirty Men of War for the Service of the Allies.

The Biſhop of Munſter *makes a Peace with the* States. The *States* likewiſe raiſed ſo many Enemies to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, that he was under a Neceſſity to make Peace and disband his Forces. This Peace was concluded at *Cleve* and ſigned the 18th of *April*.

1666. *The King of* France *not forward to ſuccour the* States. The Naval War opened the Year 1666 with all theſe Diſadvantages to *England*. If the King of *France* had acted with all the Sincerity the *States* thought they had room to expect from him, in all likelihood the *Engliſh* Fleet durſt not have put to Sea to run the Hazard of fighting with ſuch Inequality againſt the united Fleets of *France* and *Holland*. But I have already ſaid that *Lewis* XIV only declared War againſt *England* to ſave Mr. *De Wit*, who was juſt ſinking, as appears from ſeveral Letters of the Count

Count *d'Eſtrades*. The *Penſioner* being ſecure by this Declaration, it was not difficult for the King of *France* to find Pretences for retarding the Succours he had promiſed to the *States*. His Declaration, as I ſaid, was publiſhed the 19th of *January*. But the Fleet which he promiſed ſhould join with that of the *States* was in the *Mediterranean*, under the Command of the Duke of *Beaufort*, who by Accidents, real or pretended, came not to *Belle-Iſle* till the latter End of *September*. 1666.

On the other Hand, the King of *Denmark* without joining his Fleet to that of the *States*, contented himſelf with guarding his own Coaſts, ſo that this Year, as well as the laſt, the War by Sea was carried on between *England* and the *States* alone.

The King returning to *London* the 1ſt of *February*, proclaimed War againſt *France*. *War proclaimed againſt* France.

A few Days before the Queen had a Miſcarriage, which quaſhed entirely the common Report that ſhe was incapable of having Children. *The Queen miſcarries.*

The Command of the *Engliſh* Fleet was given to Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*. They repaired to it the 23d of *April*, but it was not in a Condition to put to Sea till the latter End of *May*. It conſiſted of Seventy-eight Ships of the Line, beſides Frigats and Fireſhips. In all appearance the King was till then ignorant of the ſecret Intentions of the King of *France*. But he knew the Duke of *Beaufort* had Orders to repair to *Belle-Iſle* with his Fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of Thirty-ſix Sail, that he might be at hand to join the *Dutch* Fleet in the *Channel*. This was the Reaſon that he diſpatched expreſs Orders to Prince *Rupert* to ſail with Twenty great Ships, and join with Ten more at *Plymouth*, in order to go in queſt of and fight the Duke of *Beaufort*, to which the Prince payed a ready Obedience. It cannot well be denied that this Order was ſent with too much Precipitation, and before the Matter was maturely weighed. For beſides that the *Engliſh* Fleet might, without any Danger, have waited for that of *France*, *Prince* Rupert *and the Duke of* Albemarle *command the* Engliſh *Fleet.* *Prince* Rupert *raſhly ordered to find and fight the* French *Fleet.*

1666. which could not, with any Safety, have hazarded the Paſſage of ſo narrow a Sea as the *Channel*, while the *Engliſh* Fleet ſhould keep its Station; beſides this, I ſay, the *French* Fleet was yet in the *Mediterranean*, and that of *Holland* upon the Point of ſailing out of their Ports. The King had afterwards reaſon to ſee how unſeaſonably he had given this Order.

A Sea-Engagement. La Neuville Hiſt. de Hollande.

The Fleet of the *States* commanded by *Ruyter*, put to Sea with Seventy-one Ships of the Line, Twelve Frigats, Thirteen Fireſhips, and Eight Yatchs, and came to an Anchor between *Newport* and *Dunkirk*. *Ruyter* had under his particular Command the Squadron of the *Maeſe*. That of *North-Holland* and *Friſeland* was commanded by *Evertzen*, and that of *Zealand* by *Tromp*. The *Engliſh* having a fair Wind, ſet ſail in order to fall upon the Enemy, who on their ſide cut their Cables to be the ſooner in a Readineſs to receive them. *Tromp*'s Ship was ſo much diſabled from the firſt, that he was obliged to go on board another. *Ruyter*, who was coming to his Aſſiſtance, met with the ſame Fate, and the Powder of a *Dutch* Ship taking fire, ſhe blew up into the Air. *Ruyter* on his Side ſunk an *Engliſh* Ship of Fifty Guns, then another of Seventy, and afterwards Three other Firſt-rate Ships. In ſhort, this firſt Day the Advantage was wholly on the Side of the *Dutch*, except that they loſt Vice-Admiral *Evertzen*, who was killed by a Cannon-Ball.

The Fight, which was interrupted by the Night coming on, began the next Morning by Break of Day, and held ſome Hours, but a Calm obliged both Fleets to lie by till Noon. After that, the Wind riſing, both Fleets renewed the Engagement with equal Bravery. *Tromp* having been once more obliged to change his Ship, found himſelf ſo engaged with the *Engliſh* Fleet, that he had been infallibly taken or ſunk, if *Ruyter*, by prodigious Efforts, had not brought him off. This ſecond Day the *Engliſh* had ſtill the Diſadvantage, by loſing Eight of their largeſt Ships either ſunk or burnt, and Six taken, with

Sir

Sir *George Ayſcough* Admiral of the *White*. The Duke of *Albemarle* took Advantage of the Night to retire, but was purſued too cloſely to be able to execute his Deſign. So that he was obliged to make a running Fight all the next Day to recover the Mouth of the *Thames*. Towards Night he diſcovered Prince *Rupert*'s Squadron coming to his Aſſiſtance. This gave the two *Engliſh* Admirals Reſolution at the Break of the next Day to attack their Enemies again. But they were no more ſucceſsful this fourth Day than they had been the Three foregoing. They loſt Four of their beſt Ships, and were obliged to retreat with Precipitation. A Miſt happily conveyed them from the Purſuit of *Ruyter*. In theſe four Days the *Engliſh* loſt Twenty-three great Ships, beſides ſeveral others of leſs Note, Six Thouſand Men killed, and Two Thouſand Six Hundred made Priſoners. Amongſt the Slain were Sir *William Berkley* Vice-Admiral of the *White* Squadron, and Sir *Chriſtopher Minns*. The *Dutch* loſt Six Ships, Two Thouſand Eight Hundred Soldiers, and Fourſcore Sailors, beſides the Admirals *Evertzen*, *Vander Hulſt*, and *Stockhover*, with ſome other Officers. Though the Victory was ſo evidently on the Side of the *Dutch*, Bonefires and Rejoycings were made at *London*, as if the *Engliſh* had been victorious. *

1666.

Loſſes on both Sides.

The two Fleets were not long before they put to Sea again, and as they were in queſt of each other, they met the 24th of *July*, and fought a furious Battle, where the Victory was obſtinately diſputed. That of *England* had more than a Hundred Sail; and that of the *States* Eighty-eight Ships of the Line, beſides Nineteen Fireſhips. While *Ruyter* and the young

Another Engagement.

* *De Wit* was on board the *Dutch* Fleet, who is ſaid to have invented *Chain-Shot* on this Occaſion, which did incredible Damage to the Rigging of the *Engliſh*, and was a great Means of the *Dutch* getting the Advantage. And it is thought if Prince *Rupert* had not come up when he did, the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſo unrigged, that they would have been all taken and ſunk, or burnt. And yet a Day of Thankſgiving was appointed. *Burnet.*

1666. *Evertzen* engaged the *Red* and *White* Squadrons, *Tromp* after a long Diſpute diſperſed the *Blew* Squadron commanded by Sir *Jeremy Smith*. But by an unpardonable Fault, inſtead of keeping cloſe to the Fleet, he amuſed himſelf with purſuing the flying Ships of the Enemy. On the other Hand, young *Evertzen*, who commanded one of the *Dutch* Squadrons, was killed with a Cannon-ball, and his Squadron entirely defeated. But the *Engliſh* Admiral who fought againſt him, was not guilty of the Errour committed by *Tromp*; inſtead of purſuing the flying Enemy, he joined the *Red* Squadron commanded by Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*, and theſe two Squadrons poured upon *Ruyter*, who nevertheleſs, by favour of the Night, found means to diſengage himſelf from them. But the Day following he was obliged to ſuſtain the Fight alone againſt theſe two Squadrons, there being no News of *Tromp*. He never in his Life ſhewed ſo much Bravery and Capacity as in this ſecond Engagement. He ſuſtained ſingly with his own Squadron the whole Shock of the two Squadrons of the Enemy, and at laſt made a Retreat with ſuch amazing Conduct, that his Glory was more raiſed by it than if he had gained the Victory. The *Engliſh* leaving the Purſuit in ſight of *Fluſhing*, went after *Tromp*, who though he was found by them almoſt off *Harwich*, yet he recovered the *Texel* without any Loſs. *Ruyter* on his return loudly complained of *Tromp*'s Conduct, and to ſatisfy him, the *States* put *Tromp* under an Arreſt, diſmiſſed him from his Poſt, and put Mr. *Van Ghent* in his Place.

Diſadvantage to the Dutch.

Ruyter's brave Retreat.

Tromp turned out of his Poſt.

The French *Fleet arrives at* Rochelle.

At or near the ſame time that theſe Engagements happened between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, the Duke of *Beaufort* arrived with his Fleet at *Rochelle*, where he ſtayed ſome time to take in freſh Water, of which he ſtood in great Need.

The Engliſh *make a Deſcent upon* Holland *with great Damage to the* Dutch.

As in the laſt Engagement the *Dutch* Fleet had been diſperſed, part having retired to *Fluſhing*, and part to the *Texel*, the Duke of *Albemarle* finding himſelf

ſelf Maſter of the Sea, detached Twenty Men of War to inſult the Coaſts of *Holland*. *Holms* coming into the Road of the Iſle of *Vlye*, burnt there a Hundred Sail of Merchant Men, and Two Men of War deſigned for Convoys. Afterwards he advanced to the Iſle of *Schelling*, and making a Deſcent, burnt ſeveral Houſes in the ſmall Town of *Brandaris*. His Deſign was to make Advantage of a Treaſon carrying on in this Iſle by one *Hemskirk*, for which a *French* Gentleman called *Buat*, who ſecretly correſponded with the *Engliſh*, had his Head ſtruck off at the *Hague*. But *Holms* not finding Things in the Readineſs he expected, returned back to the Fleet. 1666.

The Engliſh *Fleet before the Iſle of* Wight.

After this Expedition the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailed into the *Channel*, and anchored at St. *Hellen*'s, the Iſle of *Wight* being the moſt proper Station for hindering the Conjunction of the *French* and *Dutch* Fleets. *Ruyter* on his Side poſted himſelf in St. *John*'s Bay, near *Boulogne*, where a Diſtemper ſeized him, which for ſome time was believed to be mortal. This obliged the *States* to recal the Fleet, of which they gave notice to the King of *France*.

The Dutch *Fleet recalled on account of* Ruyter's *Illneſs.*

The Duke of Beaufort *paſſes and repaſſes before the Iſle of* Wight, *without being attacked by the* Engliſh

In the mean time the Duke of *Beaufort* knowing nothing of the Retreat of the *Dutch* Fleet, had left *Belle-Iſle*, where he had arrived about the 20th of *September*, and entring the *Channel* ſafely ſailed by the Iſle of *Wight* without being attacked, and got into the Road of *Diepe*. He ſtayed there a whole Day without hearing any News of *Ruyter*. At laſt, being informed that the *Dutch* Fleet was retired, he ſailed once more by the Iſle of *Wight*, without meeting with any Oppoſition, and got into the Ports of *Bretagne*. It is very ſurprizing that the *Engliſh*, who were poſted at the Iſle of *Wight* to prevent the Junction of the two Fleets of *France* and *Holland*, ſhould ſuffer that of *France* to paſs and repaſs without any Moleſtation. This may afford room to ſuſpect that there was ſome Intelligence between *France* and *England*. But as I find no ſufficient Light into this Affair, I ſhall take no farther notice of it. But

1666. *Management of* Lewis XIV.

it is very clear that the King of *France*, after having amuſed the *Dutch* one whole Year on divers Pretences, did not declare effectually againſt *England* till the 19th of *January* 1665-6, and ſtill amuſed them one Year longer, by giving them hopes of the Arrival of the Duke of *Beaufort*, who came not into the *Channel* till the latter End of *September*, when the Seaſon for fighting at Sea was over. If to this is added the Unwillingneſs which that King diſcovered to ſuccour the *States*, as appears from his Letter to *d'Eſtrades*, there will be no cauſe to wonder at the little Advantage which the *Dutch* reaped from the Junction of *France*.

Projects to excite Troubles in England.

This Year the *States* had a thought of aſſiſting the Male-contents in *England* and *Scotland*, to give the *Engliſh* Arms a Diverſion at Home. This Deſign was even communicated to the King of *France*. But he objected ſo many Difficulties to it, that it was ſuffered to fall without any thing done towards the Execution. Probably the *States* had ſome Correſpondence with the *Republicans*, which being in ſome meaſure diſcovered, made a great Noiſe, and according to Cuſtom was imputed to the whole Body of *Non-conformiſts*.

London burnt. Mr. Echard.

The Misfortune which this Year befel the City of *London*, I mean the terrible Fire which laid ſo great a Part of that vaſt City in Aſhes, gave a new Handle to the Enemies of the *Republicans* to charge them with being the Authors. This Charge was ſupported only by the Fire's happening to break out the 3d of * *September*, a Day eſteemed fortunate to the *Republicans*, becauſe on it *Oliver Cromwell*, when he was General of the Armies of the *Commonwealth* of *England*, obtained the two renowned Victories of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*. To repreſent without any Aggravation the Ravages committed by this Fire in *London*, I need only give my Reader the Inſcription upon one of the Sides of the Pillar, erected on the Place where the

* This Fire broke out the 2d of *September*.

the Fire broke out. This Pillar, at *London*, is called *the Monument*, and is visited by all Strangers, but they only who understand the *English** Language can come at the Meaning of this Inscription. 1666.

In the Year of Christ 1666, *the Second Day of* September, *at the Distance of* 202 *Foot* (*the Height of this Column*) *a terrible Fire broke out about Midnight, which driven on by a high Wind, not only wasted the adjacent Parts, but also very remote Places with incredible Noise and Fury. It consumed Eighty-nine Churches, the City Gates,* Guild-Hall, *many publick Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast Number of stately Edifices, Thirteen Thousand Two Hundred Dwelling Houses, Four Hundred Streets. Of the Six and Twenty Wards it utterly destroyed Fifteen, and left Eight others shattered and half burned. The Ruins of the City were four Hundred Thirty Six Acres from the* Tower *by* Thames *Side to the* Temple *Church, and from the* North-East *Gate along the City Wall to* Holborn-Bridge. *To the Estates and Fortunes of the Citizens it was merciless, but to their Lives very favourable, that it might in all things resemble the last Conflagration of the World. The Destruction was sudden, for in a small Space of Time the same City was seen most flourishing and reduced to nothing. Three Days after, when this fatal Fire had baffled all human Counsels and Endeavours, in the Opinion of all, it stopped, as it were, by a Command from Heaven, and was on every Side extinguished.* *Inscription upon the Monument.*

Men failed not to give a Scope to their Imagination, and to form Conjectures upon the Causes and Authors of this Burning. The Pious and Religious ascribed it to the just Vengeance of Heaven, on a City where Vice and Immorality reigned so openly and shamelessly, and which had not been sufficiently humbled by the raging Pestilence of the foregoing Year. Some again, *Conjectures upon the Authors of this Fire.*

* All the Inscriptions, except that round the Pedestal, are in *Latin*.

1666. again, as I have ſaid, aſcribed this Misfortune to the Malice of the *Republicans*: Others to the *Papiſts*. And there were ſome ſo bold, as to raiſe their Suſpicions even to the King and the Duke of *York*. But though ſeveral ſuſpected Perſons were taken up on this account, it was never poſſible to diſcover or prove that the Baker's Houſe where this dreadful Calamity firſt broke out, was fired on purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, a *French Huguenot*, Native of *Roan*, and a Lunatick, having owned himſelf guilty of this horrible Action, was condemned and executed. But it appeared afterwards by the Teſtimony of the Maſter of the Ship who brought him out of *France*, that though he was landed at the Time of the Fire, yet he did not arrive in *London* till two Days after it began. It is pretended likewiſe that a *Dutch* Boy Ten Years old had confeſſed that his Father and himſelf had thrown Fire-balls into the *Baker*'s Houſe through a Window that ſtood open. But beſides the Objection which may be made to this Teſtimony from the Boy's Age, there muſt have been ſome Circumſtance in his Narrative not agreeable to the Fact, ſince it was never thought proper to make a farther Enquiry. Perhaps this was a Report without Foundation.

But that which gives the greateſt Encouragement for a Belief that this Fire did not happen caſually, is the Teſtimony of Dr. *Lloyd* afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*. That Prelate told Dr. *Burnet* —— "That "one *Grant* a Papiſt had ſometime before applyed "himſelf to the ſaid *Lloyd*, who had great Credit "with the Counteſs of *Clarendon* (Proprietor of a "great Share in the Revenue, which riſes from the "New River) and ſaid he could raiſe that Eſtate "conſiderably, if ſhe would make him a Truſtee for "her. His Schemes were probable, and he was "made one of the Board that governed that Matter: "and by that he had a Right to come as oft as he "pleaſed to view their Works at *Iſlington*. He went "thither the *Saturday* before the Fire broke out, "and called for the Key of the Place where the

Extract from Burnet's *Hiſtory relating to this Fire.* p. 231.

" Heads of the Pipes were, and turned all the *Cocks* 1666.
" that were then open, and ſtopped the Water, and
" went away, and carried the Keys with him. So
" when the Fire broke out next Morning, they
" opened the Pipes in the Streets to find Water, but
" there was none. And ſome Hours were loſt in
" ſending to *Iſlington*, where the Door was to be
" broke open and the Cocks turned; and it was long
" before the Water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed de-
" nied that he had turned the *Cocks*. But the Offi-
" cer of the Works affirmed that he had, according
" to Order, ſet them all a running, and that no Per-
" ſon had got the Keys from him beſides *Grant*;
" who confeſſed he had carried away the Keys, but
" pretended he did it without Deſign."

This is the Account delivered by Doctor *Burnet* in his Hiſtory, and agrees in the main with that of Mr. *Echard*, in his Hiſtory of *England*. Nevertheleſs an anonymous Author who has writ againſt Doctor *Burnet*'s Hiſtory, accuſes him of Falſehood, and aſſerts, that *Grant* was not received amongſt the Directors till after the Fire. But it is not eaſy to decide what regard is due to the Teſtimony of this anonymous Writer, whereas one cannot avoid giving Credit to that of this illuſtrious Prelate, when he ſays, he had it from Doctor *Lloyd*, that *Grant* was one of the Directors before the Fire, and that this Account of it came from that Biſhop. However it be, this great Fire was generally laid to the Charge of the *Papiſts*, and the more ſo, becauſe ſo many other Things afterwards concurred to confirm this Suſpicion.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

The Parliament meeting the 21ſt of *September*, the King in a Speech to both Houſes, aſſured them that the Money granted for carrying on the War had proved deficient, as he had two ſuch puiſſant Enemies to cope with. He magnified the happy Succeſs with which it had pleaſed God to bleſs his Arms, and would have it underſtood, as if his Fleet had been always victorious. Immediately after the *Commons*, ſtill

1666. *A large Supply voted the King.*

still liberal, voted the King a Supply of eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds. Thus in the space of two Years, this War cost the People of *England* four Millions, four Hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds; that is to say, more than sixty Millions of *Dutch* Florins, and above Seventy-two Millions of *French Livres*, allowing thirteen *Livres-Tournay* to one Pound *Sterling*.

The Parliament Addresses the King against Papists.

Nevertheless the two Houses beginning to discover that the King was not the zealous *Protestant* he affected to appear, that *Papists* had a considerable Influence in his Council, and that their Religion began to spread in the Nation, presented an Address to pray him to put the Laws in Execution against *Romish Priests* and *Jesuits*, who took indefatigable Pains to pervert his Subjects. The King agreeably to the Practice of his Father, Grandfather, and his own, immedately issued out a Proclamation for banishing out of the Kingdom the *Priests* and *Jesuits*, on Pain of being prosecuted according to Law, if found in the Land after the 10th of *December*. So that Banishment was the most rigorous part of their Punishment, supposing the King's Order should have been punctually executed. But the more rigorous the Proclamations against them were, the more favourable to them was the Execution thereof. This is manifest from the Frequency of these Proclamations. But to give a more convincing Proof of the Disposition the Court was in with relation to this Affair, I shall here produce a Passage in a Letter to the Earl of *Sandwich*, Ambassador at *Madrid*, from Secretary *Bennet*, lately created Earl of *Arlington*, a concealed *Papist*, though he outwardly professed the *Protestant*-Religion. In this Letter he told the Ambassador, *Your Excellency knows sufficiently the Springs upon which the Animosity to the* Roman-Catholicks *rises, and how hard it is for his Majesty to forbear declaring against them, when the Complaint arises from both Houses of Parliament, and accordingly you can your self frame your Answer to the Queen of* Spain.

Proclamation against Jesuits, *&c.*

The

1666. *An Inſurrection in* Scotland; *queſhed*;

The Rigour exerciſed againſt the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, cauſed ſome of the moſt impatient amongſt them to riſe in Arms, to the Number of about fifteen Hundred, with Officers in Proportion to head them. Probably they had hopes of being joined by the reſt of their Brethren, in caſe they ſhould gain ſome Advantage. But in their firſt Action againſt the King's Forces, they were beaten and diſperſed; three Hundred of their Men were left dead upon the Spot, and about a Hundred made Priſoners, who were moſt of them executed. It was not forgot to charge the *Engliſh Presbyterians* with holding Intelligence with their Brethren of *Scotland*, and with an Inſurrection deſigned in *England*, if the other had been ſucceſsful. But it may eaſily be apprehended that the *Presbyterians* in *England* would not have eſcaped, had they been proved Guilty, conſidering how the Government ſtood affected at that Time towards them. Inconſiderable as this Inſurrection was, the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians have been pleaſed to repreſent it as of great Moment, by telling us that the Nation was ſuddenly alarmed with an Inſurrection of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, with whom it was not doubted thoſe of *England* held a ſtrict Correſpondence. Theſe Authors are to be forgiven for not having let ſlip the firſt Occaſion of bringing the *Engliſh Presbyterians* into theſe ſorts of Conſpiracies, though what they have advanced is only ſuppoſed by the Authority of a *'Tis believed.*

Made uſe of to brand the Engliſh Presbyterians.

The King was impatient for the Diſpatch of the *Money-Bill*, of which it ſeemed the *Commons* took no farther notice. He therefore thought it neceſſary to awaken, and preſs their Application to it by a Meſſage. He likewiſe told them, that he could not allow of any Receſs at *Chriſtmas*, except for ſome of the principal Holidays. But this Meſſage produced no great Effect. The *Commons* were then buſy in examining Complaints made againſt the Lord *Mordant* Governour of *Windſor*-Caſtle, who was accuſed of ſome arbitrary and tyrannical Actions. But neither

Meſſage ſent from the King to the Commons *to haſten the* Money-Bill.

Lord Mordant *accuſed.*

this

1666. this Affair, nor the Money-Bill could be finiſhed before the Concluſion of the Year.

1666-7. The Parliament met the 2d of *January*, after a ſhort Adjournment, and immediately the *Commons* accuſed the Lord *Mordant*, at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, and then preferred their Articles againſt him. But they were diſguſted that the accuſed Perſon was ſuffered to take his Place amongſt the Peers, whilſt his Accuſation was reading. This occaſioned a Diſpute between the two Houſes. There were ſtill another Quarrel depending between the Houſes, on Occaſion of an Oath impoſed by the *Commons* on the Commiſſioners appointed by them to levy the *Poll-Tax*, which the Lords looked on as a Breach of their Priviledge. This was the Subject of divers and fruitleſs Conferences.

Capitation Act. The King came to the Parliament the 18th of *January*, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the *Poll-Bill*, but he complained of the Nomination of Commiſſioners, as it was a Mark of the little Confidence they had in him.

The Miſunderſtanding between the two Houſes ſtill continuing, the King came to the Parliament the 18th of *February*, and after his Conſent given to ſeveral Acts, he promiſed poſitively that the Money granted him ſhould be wholly applied to the uſe it was intended for. Then he prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of *October*. The *Acts* paſſed now were;

The Parliament prorogued.

Money-Act. An *Act* to continue for eleven Months the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 70000 *l.* in an Opinion that this Sum joined to the *Poll-Tax*, would be ſufficient to make up the eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which had been granted to the King. The other *Acts* related principally to the rebuilding that part of the City demoliſhed by Fire, which was finiſhed with more Expedition than could be expected, and in a manner more beautiful and regular than before the Fire.

Act *for rebuilding* London.

1666-7. *Steps taken by the States towards a Peace.*

It is now Time to ſpeak of the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, which was actually, though ſecretly, negotiating at the Time that the Parliament granted eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds to enable the King to proſecute the War. In the Month of *November* 1665, before the King of *France* had declared againſt *England*, the *States*, for a Foundation of Peace, had offered to the King one of theſe two Conditions, either that each of the Parties ſhould reſtore to the other, what had been taken, or both keep what they were in actual Poſſeſſion of. This was a ſure Method to obviate all Difficulties which might occur in a Negotiation of Peace. Beſides the laſt of theſe Conditions was very advantagious for *England*, which had taken a great Number of Ships from the *Dutch* before the War was even proclaimed. This offer was again renewed at *Paris* about the middle of the Year 1666, in a Conference held there betwixt Mr. *de Lyonne*, the Lord *Hollis* Ambaſſador from *England*, and Mr. *Van Beuninghen* Envoy from the *States*. Probably *Charles* expected greater Advantages from the Continuance of the War, ſince he returned no Anſwer to this Offer. He only complained of the Obſcurity of it, without ſignifying where the Obſcurity lay. Nevertheleſs he received this Advantage from it, that he knew how the *States* ſtood affected, and what he might rely on: So that it was in his Breaſt to make Peace whenever he ſhould think it for his Intereſt. The 17th of *November* the ſame Year the *States* renewed the ſame Offer in a Letter to the King. But as this was at the Time that the Parliament was going to ſit, and that the King hoped for a large Supply from it, he did not think fit to embrace the Offer. He contented himſelf with ſignifying to the *States* in a Letter of the 4th of *October*, his Diſſatisfaction at their Proceedings, and at the Calumnies they had raiſed againſt him, in accuſing him as the Aggreſſor, and as having rejected all Propoſals for Peace. He then entered into a large Detail to juſtify himſelf from the Allegations of the *States* a-

1666-7. gainſt him. But the moſt important Part of this Letter was the King's poſitive Aſſurance that he had accepted the Mediation of the King of *Sweden*, ſo that nothing was wanted but to agree upon a Place for a Treaty. The choice of this Place afforded the King a Pretence to put off the Negotiation for ſome Months. He was firſt for having the Peace negotiated at *London*, to which the *States* would have given their Conſent, if the Kings of *France* and *Denmark* had believed it conſiſtent with their Honour to make ſuch a Step. To the Repreſentation made by the *States* cnncerning his Refuſal of the two King's their Allies, he anſwered, that he had nothing to negotiate with *France*, and he complained of the King of *Denmark* for having made War againſt him without any Reaſon or Neceſſity. He was ſo much offended with this King, that he made no Scruple to tell the *States*, that it was entirely at his Inſtance that he had ſent his Fleet to *Berghen*, and bargained with him to divide the Spoil. At laſt, the *States* left the Nomination of the Place to him, provided it was agreeable to their Allies. The King accepted the Offer, but inſiſted that the *States* ſhould firſt write a Letter to him to teſtify that they would willingly have ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *London*, if the two Kings in Alliance with them would have given their Conſent. This Letter was writ as he deſired the 13th of *January* 1666-7, and the King in his Anſwer of the 20th, named the *Hague* for the Place of Conference. He well knew that the *Penſioner* would not accept it, on account of the Cabals which the Ambaſſadors of *England* might form againſt him in favour of the young Prince of *Orange*. Accordingly *De Wit* brought the King of *France* underhand into his Meaſures, and got him to reject that Place for the Negotiation.

All the Steps taken by the King make it clear that he was deſirous of Peace, and as it was in his Power he might have concluded it before the End of the Year 1666. But a too great haſte would have deprived him of the eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds granted

granted for the Continuance of the War. This was the true Reaſon of the Difficulties raiſed by him with relation to the Place of Congreſs, in order to gain Time till the *Money-Bill* was paſſed. After he had given his Aſſent to the laſt *Bill* for the Continuation of the Monthly Aſſeſſment of 70000 *l.* all Difficulties began to vaniſh. Seven or eight Days after, the Earl of St. *Albans* was ſent to *Paris* to notify to the King of *France*, that *Charles* conſented that Things ſhould remain in the State to which the Fate of Arms had reduced them. He added nevertheleſs one Condition, namely, that *France* ſhould reſtore to him the Iſle of St. *Chriſtophers*, and three other ſmall Iſlands in *America*, ſeized by that Crown the foregoing Year. But this Affair was proper to be diſcuſſed at the Congreſs, whereas the Choice of the Alternative made the Eſſence of the Treaty with the *States*. So that it may be ſaid, that from this Time the Peace was as good as concluded, and that nothing was wanting but the Formality of a Treaty. 1666-7.

In the mean Time the King of *France*, in order to do a good Turn for Mr. *De Wit*, in preventing the King of *England* from inſiſting upon his Nomination of the *Hague* for the Place of the Conferences, thought of an Expedient which took effect. This was the naming of *Dover* for the Place of Congreſs. After that, upon Difficulties raiſed, he added *Breda*, *Bois-le-duc*, and *Maſtricht*, and left it to the King of *England* to chooſe which of the four he beſt liked. At laſt, *Charles* having no longer an Intereſt to delay the Peace, writ to the *States* the 18th of *March*, that he was willing to ſend his Plenipotentiaries to *Breda*.

1667. *Peace treated of at* Breda.

The Difficulty concerning the Place of Congreſs being removed, the next Thing was to appoint Ambaſſadors, and diſpatch the Paſs-Ports. And it was agreed the Conferences for the Peace ſhould begin the 10th of *May*. But the *Engliſh* Plenipotentiaries arrived not at *Breda* till the 20th. Theſe were the

1667. Lord *Hollis*, and Mr. *Henry Coventry* *. From *France* came the Count *de Eſtrades*, and Mr. *Courtin*; from *Denmark*, Mrſſ. *Klingenberg* and *Caniſius*, and from the *States General*, Mrſſ. *Beverninch*, *Hubert* and *Yongſtal*. The Mediators from the King of *Sweden* were, Mrſſ. *Fleming* and *Coyet*. But the laſt dying at *Breda*, the Count *de Dhona*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador to the *States*, took his Place.

The Conferences prolonged by a Miſunderſtanding.

From the firſt opening of the Congreſs a Miſtake was diſcovered which was obvious to every Body, but which in all Appearance had been winked at by the two Parties in the fear of throwing ſome Obſtacle in the way to the Concluſion of the Congreſs. In the Letter writ to the King of *England* by the *States*, the 17th of the laſt *September*, they had offered two Expedients towards a Peace, the ſecond of which was that each ſhould keep what he had taken, or was in Poſſeſſion of *before or after the Beginning of the War*. This was what the *States* had kept to ever ſince, without any Variation. But the King in a Letter to the *States*, dated the 24th of *April* 1667, had theſe Words —— "We take this Opportunity to declare "to you that we accept the Choice which has been "propoſed to us, that is to ſay, that each Party ſhall "keep whatſoever he has taken *during this War*, "*which being granted, we ſhall Order our Ambaſſadors* "*to proceed in the preſent Treaty, upon the Foundation* "*of that made betwixt us in the Year* 1662."

It is manifeſt that in the ſecond Offer propoſed by the *States*, was comprehended all that had been acquired by either Party, not only during this War, but moreover before the War, and that in the King's Letter was comprehended only what had been taken during the War. But the King agreeably to the Terms of his Acceptation, pretended that the *States* ſhould make him Reparation for the two Ships, called the *Good Hope*, and the *Bon-Adventure*, which had been taken, or ſunk before the Treaty of 1662. Moreover

* Of the King's Bed-Chamber.

over he pretended that as the *States* were obliged by the ſame Treaty to reſtore to him the *Iſle* of *Poleron* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and as that Iſle was ſtill in their Poſſeſſion, it ſhould be delivered up to him. Theſe two Articles were the principal Matters in Debate in the Conferences of *Breda*, and retarded the Concluſion of the Treaty, to the great Prejudice of the *Engliſh* as will be ſeen afterwards. The *States* kept to the Terms of their Offer, and the King to thoſe of his Acceptation. 1667.

A Difficulty relating to the Iſle of Poleron.

I have already taken notice of the two Ships taken by the *Dutch* in the Interval between the two Treaties of the Year 1659, and 1662. As for the Iſle of *Poleron*, the *States* pretended that they had made Reſtitution in form, and produced an Acknowledgement under the Hand of the *Engliſh* Officer, to whom it had been ſurrendered. But before this Surrender they had entirely diſpeopled it, and cut down all the *Clove*-Trees, and in ſhort, they had ſeized it again ſince the beginning of this laſt War. But the King pretended to find material Faults in the Form of the Reſtitution, and inſiſted that the *States* were obliged to reſtore it by the Terms of the Treaty of 1662. The Importance of this *Iſle* was that in four or five Years it might be new ſtocked with *Clove*-Trees if it was in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and ſo prove prejudicial to the *Dutch*, who were Maſters of that whole Spice-Trade.

Both Parties intractable. The King receeds from his Demand of Poleron.

To decide theſe Two Articles from which both Parties made it a Point of Honour not to receed, Couriers were to be ſent ſeveral times to *London* and the *Hague*, and thoſe from *London* brought only more ſtrict Orders to the Ambaſſadors to inſiſt upon the two Ships, and the Iſle of *Poleron*. But at length the King gave up the laſt Point, ſo that the whole Negotiation was reduced to the Satisfaction he demanded for the Loſs of the two Ships. It is not at all ſurprizing that the King would not depart from this Article. He had begun the War upon the ſpecious Pretence of having Reparation

1667. made for all the Damages done to his Subjects, which he computed at Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. To enable him to obtain this Reparation, the Parliament had furnished him with Five Hundred and Fifty Five Thousand Pounds. He had besides taken Sixscore Ships, before the War was declared, and more than Fourscore since. In all appearance he had not applied the Product of these Captures to the Benefit of his Subjects, who, he pretended, had lost Seven or Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds, and for whom the War was undertaken. He could not therefore by any Means excuse himself from procuring to the Merchants, who had lost these Two Vessels, the Satisfaction demanded by them, without giving ground to believe that this War had been taken in Hand on imaginary Pretensions. For in effect, only the Pretensions with regard to these two Ships are clearly explained. All the rest consisted only in *generals*, the Discussion whereof was not at all necessary, by reason of the Choice proposed by the *States*. It was not that they feared a Discussion, because they had offered that in the first of the proposed Conditions. But the King had an Interest to avoid it, and accept the second Condition. If he had closed with it, in the same Terms it was offered by the *States*, the Causes of the War, which had been so expensive to *England*, would never have been understood. He could not therefore in Honour help insisting upon this Article, which alone was to be considered as the principal Cause of the War, though it did not amount to Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. However, as the Offer made him by the *States* let him see that Peace was in his own Power, when he should think proper to conclude it, he thought it was but a needless Expence to put to Sea a powerful Fleet, as he had done the two foregoing Years, and that it would turn to better Account to save the greater Part of the Money granted for the continuance of the War. With this View, relying on the certainty

Sends no Fleet out.

of

of the Peace, he put all his great Ships out of Commiſſion, and kept only a Squadron of about Twenty Sail, while the *States* continued their Preparations as uſual, in the Uncertainty they were under, whether the King was hearty in his deſire of Peace. 1667.

In the mean Time, the *States* ſeeing what Difficulties the King formed upon an Article of ſo little Conſequence, believed, or pretended to believe, that he had no Mind to make Peace. They therefore reſolved either to force him to drop his Pretenſions, or to continue the War this Summer with Advantage, becauſe they knew that the King would have no Fleet at Sea.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, *Ruyter* ſailed out of the *Texel*, and came the 8th of *June* into the Mouth of the *Thames*, from whence he diſpatched Vice-Admirol *Van Ghent* with Seventeen of his lighteſt Ships, and ſome Fire-Ships. *The* Dutch *came into the Mouth of the* Thames.

Van Ghent the 10th of *June* ſailed up the *Medway*, made himſelf Maſter of the Fort of *Shearneſs*; and after he had burnt the Magazine full of Stores, to the Value of Forty Thouſand Pounds, blew up the Fortifications. This gave an Alarm to the City of *London*: So that to prevent farther Miſchief, ſome Ships were ſunk, and a large Chain thrown a-croſs the River in the narroweſt Part of it. But by favour of an Eaſterly Wind, and a ſtrong Tide, the *Dutch* Ships broke the Chain, and ſailed between the ſunk Veſſels. They immediately burnt three large Ships called the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*, all taken from them in this preſent War, and carried along with them the Hull of the Royal *Charles*, beſides burning and damaging ſeveral others. After this they advanced as far as *Chatham* and *Upnore*-Caſtle, and burnt the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*. The *Engliſh* fearing that all the *Dutch* Fleet would ſail up to *London-Bridge*, with all poſſible haſte, ſunk Ships at *Woolwich* and *Blackwall*, and planted Great Guns on the Banks of the River. The Conſternation was very great, *Burn ſeveral Ships.* *Sail up as far as* Chatham.

1667. great, nor less the Complaints. It was said openly, that the King out of pure Avarice had kept the Money so generously given him to continue the War, and left his Ships and his Subjects to the Insults of the Enemy, though he had exclaimed against the Injustice done him in believing him capable of such an Action. The King found himself under great Perplexities, as well from his Fears of greater Damage from the *Dutch* Fleet, as from the Mortification given him by this Affair, and the Shame of having nothing to say against the Complaints of his People. Besides, he could not but reproach himself with being the Occasion of this Insult, by insisting too long upon an Affair of Ten Thousand Pounds Value, and so retarding the Conclusion of the Peace.

The King in great Perplexity.

Other Exploits of Ruyter.

After this Exploit *Ruyter* setting Sail, went and made an Attempt to burn the Ships in *Portsmouth*-Harbour: But finding them secure, he sailed away to the *West*, and took some Ships in *Torbay*. He then sailed *Eastward*, beat the *English* before *Harwich*, and gave Chace to a Squadron commanded by Sir *Edward Spragg*, who was obliged to retire up the *Thames*. In a Word, he kept the Coasts of *England* in continual Alarms the whole Month of *July*, till he received the News of the Conclusion of a Peace.

The Peace concluded at Breda.

This Event had given such a turn to Affairs, that it was no longer time for the *English* Ambassadors at the *Hague* to stand upon Punctilio's. Accordingly they very calmly gave up the Article of the two Ships. But this was to be understood with the good liking of the King, who was to confirm what they had done before the Treaty was signed. For this Purpose Mr. *Coventry*, after having come to an Agreement with the Ambassadors of the Allies, went for *England* the 2d of *July*, and returned the 8th with the King's Approbation, and the 21st the Treaty of Peace was signed. Nevertheless three separate Treaties were made, on account of some Inconveniences which would have arisen had there been only

only one. But by a Writing ſigned by all the Plenipotentiaries it was declared, that the three Treaties ſhould be eſteemed only as one and the ſame. 1667.

The moſt important Articles of the Treaty between *England* and *France* were theſe:

Articles of the Peace with France.

VII. The *moſt Chriſtian* King ſhall reſtore to the King of *Great-Britain* that Part of the Iſle of St. *Chriſtophers*, which the *French* have taken from the *Engliſh* ſince the Declaration of the War.

X. The King of *Great-Britain* ſhall reſtore to the *moſt Chriſtian* King the Country of *Acadia*, in *North America*, ſome time in Poſſeſſion of the ſaid *moſt Chriſtian* King.

XI. The *moſt Chriſtian* King ſhall reſtore to the King of *Great-Britain* the Iſles of *Antego* and *Monſerrat*, if they are ſtill in his Poſſeſſion, and in general all the Territories, Iſles, Towns, and Fortreſſes which may have been conquered by his Arms, and which belonged to the King of *England* before the War began againſt the *States-General*, and Reciprocally the King of *Great-Britain* ſhall reſtore the Territories, Iſles, Towns, *&c.*

XVII. This Article contained a Regulation of all the Captures, which might be made ſince the Concluſion of the Peace.

XVIII. In caſe of a War it is ſtipulated that ſix Months Notice ſhall be given to Merchants to withdraw their Effects.

Chief Articles of the Treaty between Great-Britain *and the* States-General.

Article III. Both Sides ſhall forget and forgive all Offences, Damages, and Loſſes, which either have ſuffered during this War, or at any Time before, or under any Pretence, as if they had never happened---- Each Party ſhall hold for Time to come in full Right of Sovereignty, Propriety and Poſſeſſion all ſuch Countries, Iſles, Towns, Forts, Places and Colonies,

as

1667. as whether during this War, or before, have been taken and kept from the other by Force of Arms, and in what other Manner ſoever, and that as they poſſeſſed and enjoyed them the 10th Day of *May* laſt.

IV. All Ships, Goods and Moveables, which at any Time have come into the Power of either Party, ſhall remain in the preſent Poſſeſſion thereof, without any Compenſation or Reſtitution for the ſame.

V. All Actions; Demands, and Pretenſions whatſoever for the ſame ſhall remain void, obliterated and diſannulled, *&c.*

XV. The ſaid Lord the King, and the ſaid Lords the *States*, ſhall not receive into their Dominions any ſuch Perſons as ſhall be declared Fugitive Rebels, of either the one or the other.

XIX. All Ships and Veſſels of the *United-Provinces*, as well Men of War as Merchant-Ships, and others, which ſhall meet in the *Britannick-Seas* any Ships of War belonging to the King of *Great-Britain*, ſhall ſtrike the Flag, and lower the Sail as it has formerly been practiſed.

XXXII. If the former Differences ſhall be renewed, and turned into an open War, the Ships, Merchandize, and all moveable Effects of both Parties, which ſhall be found in the Sea-Ports and Dominions of the adverſe Party, ſhall be by no Means confiſcated or damaged; but there ſhall be granted to the Subjects of both Parties the Term of ſix whole Months, during which Time they may tranſport the ſaid Effects where they pleaſe.

XXXVI. For the greater Aſſurance that the preſent Treaty ſhall be obſerved with good Faith on the Part of the *States-General*, they engage themſelves by theſe Preſents, that thoſe Perſons who ſhall be choſen by the ſaid *States-General*, or the particular Provinces, into the Offices of *Captain-General*, *Stadtholder*, *Field-Marſhal*, *Admiral*, ſhall ſwear that they will obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved Religiouſly this Treaty.

By

By a ſeparate Article it was agreed, That if any of the Murderers of *Charles* I, ſhould be found in the Dominions of the *States-General*, they ſhould be delivered up to the King, *&c.* 1667.

If we conſider now what were the Advantages *England* received from a War begun upon ſuch ſlight Foundations, and carried on with ſuch Animoſity, it will not be eaſy to diſcover ſo much as one that was not really contained in the Treaty of the 4th of *September* 1662. But on the contrary, it will be found that this War ſtood *England* in Five Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, beſides the Loſs of Ships of War, whether in Sea-Engagements, or in the Affair of *Chatham*. Nevertheleſs the King had aſſured the Parliament, in one of his Speeches, that he could never lay down his Arms till he had procured for his Subjects a reaſonable Satisfaction for their Loſſes, which, upon his Computation, amounted to Seven or Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds. Now if theſe Loſſes were real, this Peace was ſo much the more Diſhonourable for the King and *Engliſh* Nation. But on the other Hand, it is eaſy to perceive that the King and Duke of *York* reaped conſiderable Advantages by it. The King by the large Supplies of Money granted for this War, and by no Means applied to it (eſpecially the Eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds granted in *January* and *February* this Year) and by the Sale of Ships taken from the *Dutch*: The Duke of *York* by his Claims upon theſe Captures as Lord High-Admiral, and by the Preſent of One Hundred Twenty Thouſand Pounds made him by the Parliament. Such was the Concluſion of this great Armament, which was to humble the Pride of the *Dutch*, and render them forever incapable to carry on their Traffick, and diſpute the Empire of the Seas with *England*. The Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at the *Hague* the 24th of *Auguſt*. *Reflections upon this Peace.*

The

1667. *The King of* France *invades the* Netherlands.

The King of *France*, as was ſeen, gave no very effectual Aſſiſtance to his Allies, ſince his Fleet never joyned that of the *States*, not even in this laſt Year of the War, when the *Engliſh* were in no Condition to oppoſe the Junction. He then had other Deſigns, which he diſcovered in the Month of *June*, by an Invaſion of the *Netherlands*, on account of the Pretenſions which the Queen his Wife had upon *Brabant*, after the Death of *Philip* IV, her Father. In the whole courſe of the War between the King of *England* and the *States-General*, he plainly enough ſhewed his Intention to make *Charles* his Friend, in which he ſucceeded but too well in the End. He would never have declared againſt him, notwithſtanding his ſtrict Engagement with the *States* in the Treaty of 1662, had he not believed that Declaration abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport Mr. *De Wit*, who, without it, was in great Hazard of forfeiting all his Authority. He earneſtly longed to ſee this War ended, into which he had entered with great Reluctance. This appeared principally in the Conferences at *Breda*, where his Two Plenipotentiaries performed properly the Office of Mediators, though thoſe of *Sweden* had the Name. Wherefore he was vehemently ſuſpected in *Holland* of carrying on a ſecret Correſpondence with the King of *England*.

Complaints againſt the Court.

Complaints and Murmurs againſt King *Charles* and his Miniſters ſucceeded the Animoſity with which the *Dutch* War was begun. When the Advantages received from this War were laid in the Ballance againſt the Expence of it, they were found ſo little proportioned, that Men could not help thinking that the War had been undertaken from other Motives than the Benefit of *England*. The People had been perſwaded that it was entered into only to procure a Satisfaction to the Merchants for their Loſſes from the Rapine of the *Dutch*; an honourable Revenge for the many Affronts which they had put upon the *Engliſh* Nation, and a Reduction of their Power to ſuch a Condition, that it ſhould never more rival that of

England; but nothing of this had been performed. The Merchants had received no Satisfaction even for the Two Ships, the *Good-Hope* and the *Bon-Adventure*, though that Article was one of the cleareſt and beſt explained. The Nation, far from being revenged for the Affronts it had received, ſuffered one of the moſt real and mortifying that could be, in the Buſineſs of *Chatham*. Laſtly, after the Peace of *Breda*, the *United-Provinces* found themſelves in a more flouriſhing Condition than they had been in before the War, and looked on this Peace as a Triumph for them. On the other Hand, few People could digeſt the King's preſſing the Parliament for a ſupply of Money to carry on the War, and after having received Eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* for that Purpoſe, his turning his Thoughts wholly to Peace, without putting himſelf into a Condition to obtain one upon any the leaſt reaſonable Terms. This was a Subject very apt to raiſe a Doubt of the Sincerity of his Intentions for the good of his People. In ſhort, it was more and more diſcovered that the *Papiſts* had a great Influence in the Court, and that the Proclamations publiſhed againſt them at the Deſire of the Parliament, were far from being rigorouſly executed. The Earl of *Arlington*, the almoſt declared Protector of all the *Papiſts*, was made Secretary of State, and in great Favour, while the Earl of *Clarendon*, their Enemy, daily declined in Credit and Authority. This began to produce Suſpicions little Advantagious to the King. Beſides, the licentious Life he led, did not help to keep up the high Opinion conceived of him in the Beginning of his Reign. His Court was the moſt Vicious that could be. His Miſtreſſes ruled abſolutely, and nothing was tranſacted but through their Means. They ſwallowed up his vaſt Revenues, and moſt of the extraordinary Supplies granted him by the Parliament; ſo that in the midſt of Riches, he was always in Want, and forced to have recourſe to new Pretences for drawing Money

1667.

Suſpicions againſt the King.

The Diſorders of his Court.

1667. Money from his Parliament, to ſupply his private Occaſions.

The Chancellor's Diſgrace. Theſe Suſpicions and Complaints coming to the Knowledge of the King, he reſolved to lay them by ſacrificing the Earl of *Clarendon*, who had hitherto acted as Prime-Miniſter. He well knew that the People are always exceſſively pleaſed with ſuch Sacrifices, and eſpecially of Miniſters who have enjoyed the greateſt Credit, and who generally are charged with all the Misfortunes that befal a Nation. But this was only a Pretext made uſe of by the King to get rid of a Miniſter whom he no longer loved, and whoſe Preſence and Counſels were become inſupportable to him. The Chancellor's regular Life, his Averſion to all Debauch and Libertiniſm, his grave and ſevere Manners, his Neglect of the King's Favourites and Miſtreſſes, and laſtly, his Principles and Maxims with regard to Religion and the State, were but little agreeable to the diſorderly Lives of the whole Court, and ſtill leſs to the Projects formed in favour of the *Papiſts*, under colour of eaſing the *Presbyterians*. On account of this, and his rough and always too haughty Behaviour, he had rendred himſelf odious to all the Courtiers, who were indefatigable in doing him ill Offices, eſpecially when they ſaw him in the Decline of his Favour. He had often taken the Liberty to reproach the King with the Diſorders of his Life, and at firſt his Reproaches were well received. But after the King had entirely abandoned himſelf to his Pleaſures, he could no longer bear the Preſence of a Man whoſe Advice he had formerly liſtened to with a ſort of Submiſſion. The Duke of *Buckingham* and ſome others laying hold on this Diſpoſition of the King, neglected nothing to encourage and cheriſh it. As often as they ſaw the Chancellor coming, they would ſay to his Majeſty, *Here comes your School-Maſter!* At other times they turned his Behaviour into Ridicule in the Preſence of the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* uſed to walk in a ſtately Manner with a Pair of *Bellows* before him

to

to mimick the Chancellor with the *Purſe*, whilſt Colonel *Titus* carried a *Fire-Shovel* on his Shoulder for the *Mace*. The King ſuffered theſe Buffooneries, and diſcovered by that his Diſguſt to his Miniſter. But as theſe are only Trifles, and as the King's Diſguſt turned at laſt into real Hatred, it is proper here to relate the more ſerious Cauſes which have been offered in Juſtification of the King's Reſentment. 1667.

Cauſes of his Fall.

1. It is pretended that the King being deſirous to make a Divorce with the Queen upon Allegations not well ſupported, could never obtain the Chancellor's Approbation.

2. The King's Intention, after this Divorce was accompliſhed, was to marry Mrs. *Stuart* his Relation, of whom he was exceedingly amourous. The Earl of *Clarendon* to fruſtrate this Matter, prevailed with the young Duke of *Richmond* to marry her, by repreſenting how ſerviceable it would be to gain him the King's Favour. The Duke following the Advice made his Addreſſes to the Lady, who, knowing nothing of the King's Inclination, believed ſhe ought not to refuſe ſo good an Offer, and the Marriage was immediately concluded. The King was ſo vexed that he baniſhed the new-married Pair from the Court, and never forgave the Chancellor the Trick he had played him.

3. Another, and as was generally thought the moſt apparent Cauſe of the King's Diſlike to the Chancellor, was his oppoſing *Popham*'s Project of ſettling an annual Revenue of Two Millions of Pounds *Sterling* upon the King, which was ſeconded by the Earl of *Southampton*.

4. The moſt probable Cauſe of the Chancellor's Ruin was, that the *Papiſts*, whoſe Counſels and Projects were liſtened to and approved by the King, omitted nothing to deſtroy him, well knowing that under his Miniſtry they could never hope to ſucceed in their Deſigns.

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1667. 5. A ſtately Houſe built by him near St. *James's* Park, and in the very Year of the Plague did him great Injury in the Minds of the Populace. It was pretended that it coſt him Fifty Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, though at firſt he deſigned only to lay out Fifteen or Sixteen Thouſand. People gave it the Name of *Dunkirk-Houſe*, becauſe it was ſuppoſed that his Advice for the Sale of that Place had furniſhed him with the Means to raiſe it. He committed ſtill another Errour, in purchaſing for this Houſe the Stones that were deſigned for building St. *Paul's* Church.

Has the Great-Seal taken from him.

However theſe things may be, the King, under colour of giving Satisfaction to his People in the Sacrifice of this Miniſter, deprived him of his Office of High-Chancellor, and made Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal.

The Earl of South-ampton's *Death.*

The Earl of *Southampton* the Treaſurer dying three Months before the Chancellor's Diſgrace, the King ſaw himſelf at once deprived of two great and faithful Miniſters, whoſe Loſs was never repaired, at leaſt with relation to their Morals, their Religion, and Affection for their Country. A little before this Earl's Death, ſome Perſon in Council ſpeaking againſt the Chancellor, he with ſome Emotion ſaid —— *The Earl of* Clarendon *is a true Proteſtant, and an honeſt* Engliſhman, *and while he is in Place we are ſecure of our Laws, Liberties, and Religion: but whenever he ſhall be removed,* England *will feel the ill Effects of it.* In this he proved a true Prophet.

After the Earl of *Southampton's* Death, the King put the Treaſury into Commiſſion. Among the Commiſſioners was Sir *Thomas Clifford* a *Papiſt*, and known for ſuch by all the World *. And upon him afterwards fell the King's Choice for Lord High-Treaſurer.

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* The reſt of the Commiſſioners were, the Duke of *Albemarle*, the Lord *Aſhly-Cooper*, Sir *William Coventry*, and Sir *John Duncomb*. Sir *William Clifford* was then Comptroller of the Houſehold.

The Parliament meeting the 10th of *October*, the King ſpoke but little, and left it to the Lord-Keeper, to acquaint the two Houſes with his Intentions. His Speech ran chiefly upon a ſort of Excuſe for the King, who had, contrary to Cuſtom, after a Prorogation of the Parliament to the Month of *October*, ordered it by Proclamation to meet the 25th of *July*, and then by another Proclamation put off the new deſigned Seſſion to the Time firſt appointed. He communicated to them the Concluſion of the Peace, and deſired them to ſettle the Balance of Trade with *Scotland*. He ſaid, that the King having named Commiſſioners to ſtate the publick Accounts, and to examine to what Uſes the Money granted by the Parliament had been applied, and this Commiſſion not having had the Succeſs he had hoped from it, he left it to the Care of the Parliament to examine thoſe who had been truſted with the Adminiſtration. He added, that ſome malicious Perſons diſperſed falſe Reports of the Government, with Deſign to create a Miſunderſtanding between the King and his Subjects: But that his Majeſty promiſed himſelf from their Affection, that they would on the contrary uſe all Endeavours to preſerve this precious Union: That if any thing irregular had been acted, the King was ready to make Reparation. He therefore prayed them to imprint upon the Hearts of the Subjects that known Truth ------ *That there is no diſtinct Intereſt between the King and his People, but the Good of one is the Good of both.* 1667. *The Lord-Keeper's Speech to both Houſes.*

Some Days after the two Houſes preſented an Addreſs to the King to thank him for ſeveral things: 1. That he had diſmiſſed his new-raiſed Forces: 2. That he had removed the *Papiſts* from out of his Guards, and all military Employments: 3. That he had revoked a certain Patent *: 4. and more eſpecially, That he had diſplaced the late Lord Chancellor, and removed him from the Exerciſe of publick *The Addreſs of both Houſes to the King.*

* The *Canary-Patent.*

1667. Truſt and Employment in Affairs of State. The King anſwered to this laſt Article, by aſſuring the Houſes, *That he would never employ the Earl of* Clarendon *again in any publick Affairs whatſoever.*

The King ſufficiently diſcovering his Intention not to protect the Earl of *Clarendon*, the Houſe laboured indefatigably to find out Reaſons or Pretexts to impeach him of Treaſon. But it is too little to ſay that the King had no Intention to protect him. It is certain that he himſelf was a Party, and put the *Commons* upon acting againſt him. This he diſcovered clearly by reproving a Domeſtick Servant, and a Member of the Commons *, for having given his Vote for the Earl of *Clarendon*. To which that Officer replied, *That he knew the Earl to be an honeſt Man, and was ſure could never be guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge.* At laſt the *Commons* in great Heat ſent up an Impeachment againſt him to the Houſe of Lords, of which the following Articles are the Subſtance:

Articles againſt the Earl of Clarendon Echard, p. 842.

" I. That the Earl of *Clarendon* hath deſigned a " Standing Army to be raiſed, and to govern the " Kingdom thereby; and adviſed the King to diſ- " ſolve this preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all " Thoughts of Parliaments for the future; to go- " vern by a military Power, and to maintain the " ſame by free Quarter and Contribution.

" II. That he hath, in the Hearing of the King's " Subjects, falſely and ſeditiouſly ſaid, *That the King " was in his Heart a Papiſt, or Popiſhly affected*, or " Words to that Effect.

" III. That he hath received great Sums of Money " for the procuring of the *Canary-Patent*, and other " illegal *Patents*; and granted illegal *Injunctions* to " ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, and other " illegal *Patents* formerly granted.

" IV. That

* Sir *Stephen Fox*.

" IV. That he hath adviſed and procured divers " of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſoned againſt " Law, in remote *Iſlands*, Garriſons, and other " Places, thereby to prevent them from the Benefit " of the Law, and to produce *Precedents* for the im- " priſoning any other of his Majeſty's Subjects in " the ſame Manner. 1667.

" V. That he procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms " to be farmed at under Rates knowing the ſame; " and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Ma- " jeſty, to the Payment of which his Majeſty was " not ſtrictly bound, and afterwards received great " Sums of Money for procuring the ſame.

" VI. That he received great Sums of Money " from the *Company of Vintners*, or ſome of them or " their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Wines, " and for freeing them from the Payment of legal " Penalties, which they had incurred.

" VII. That he hath in a ſhort time gained to " himſelf a greater Eſtate than can be imagined to " be gained lawfully in ſo ſhort a Space; and, con- " trary to his Oath, he hath procured ſeveral " Grants under the Seal, from his Majeſty to him- " ſelf and Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's " Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſ- " profit of his Majeſty.

" VIII. That he hath introduced an arbitrary Go- " vernment in his Majeſty's foreign Plantations, and " hath cauſed ſuch as complained thereof before his " Majeſty and Council, to be impriſoned for ſo " doing.

" IX. That he did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal " and Undertaking approved by his Majeſty, for the " Preſervation of *Nevis* and St. *Chriſtophers*, and re- " ducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's " Obedience, after the Commiſſions were drawn " for that purpoſe; which was the Occaſion of our " great Loſſes and Damages in thoſe Parts.

1667. "X. That he held Correſpondence with *Cromwell* "and his Accomplices, when he was in Parts beyond "the Seas, attending his Majeſty, and thereby ad- "hered to the King's Enemies.

"XI. That he adviſed and effected the Sale of "*Dunkirk* to the *French* King, being part of his "Majeſty's Dominions; together with the Ammu- "nition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there, and "for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunition, "Artillery, and the Stores were worth.

"XII. That the ſaid Earl did unduly cauſe his "Majeſty's *Letters-Patents*, under the Great-Seal of "*England*, to one Dr. *Crowther*, to be altered, and "the Enrolment thereof to be unduly raſed.

"XIII. That he hath in an arbitrary Way exa- "mined and brought into Queſtion divers of his Ma- "jeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tene- "ments, Goods, Chattels and Properties, deter- "mined thereof at the *Council-Table*, and ſtopped "Proceedings at Law by Order of the *Council-Table*, "and threatned ſome that pleaded the Statute of the "17th of *Car.* I.

"XIV. That he hath cauſed *Quo Warranto*'s to be "iſſued out againſt moſt of the *Corporations* of *Eng- "land*, immediately after their *Charters* were con- "firmed by an *Act* of Parliament, to the Intent he "might require great Sums of Money of them for "renewing their *Charters*; which when they com- "plied withal, he cauſed the ſaid *Quo Warranto*'s to "be diſcharged, and Proſecutions therein to ceaſe.

"XV. That he procured the *Bills* of Settlement "of *Ireland*, and received great Sums of Money for "the ſame in a moſt corrupt and unlawful Manner.

"XVI. That he hath deluded and betrayed his "Majeſty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties "and Negotiations relating to the War, and betray- "ed and diſcovered his Majeſty's moſt ſecret Coun- "ſels to his Enemies.

"XVII. Tha

" XVII. That he was the principal Author of " that fatal Counſel of dividing the Fleet about " *June* 1666." 1667.

Upon the Credit of theſe Articles the *Commons* on the 12th of *September* impeached the Earl of High-Treaſon at the Bar of the Lords Houſe, and demanded that he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*. But the Lords did not think proper to commit him upon ſo general an Accuſation, before they had examined how it was ſupported.

This raiſed a hot Diſpute between the Houſes, which ſeveral Conferences were not able to allay. At laſt, the *Commons* came to this Reſolution. " That " the Lords not having complyed with the Deſire of " the *Commons*, in committing the Earl of *Clarendon*, " and ſequeſtring him from Parliament upon the Im- " peachment from that Houſe, was an Obſtruction " of the Publick Juſtice of the Kingdom, and a " Precedent of evil and dangerous Conſequence." At the ſame Time they appointed a Committee to draw up a Declaration to vindicate their Proceedings.

But the Earl of *Clarendon* ſeeing himſelf the Mark of the *Commons* Rage, and well knowing that the King and the whole Court were his Enemies, thought it adviſeable to withdraw into *France*, after having left an Apology behind him, addreſſed to the Lords. In this Apology he did not expreſsly reply to every particular Article of his Impeachment: But his Anſwer was divided into four principal Parts, on each of which I ſhall ſay ſomething here that will ſhow wherein the Strength of his Defence lay.

His Apology addreſſed to the Lords.

1. With Relation to this Eſtate he ſaid, that excepting what he had received from the King's Bounty, he had never taken one Penny but what was generally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſites of his Office. That his Eſtate was made up Principally of the King's Bounty to him, which although it was above his Merit, there were nevertheleſs thoſe to whom the King had made at leaſt as

1667. great Presents, though they had but small Right to pretend to them.

2. As to the Accusation of his having done every Thing according to his own Humour, while he had the Honour of his Majesty's Confidence, he answered in General, that he had neither done nor ordered any Thing of his own Head, but acted merely in Consequence of the Resolutions of Council, and of the King's Ministers. That for more than two Years no Difference had happened in the Council, nor any Complaints, to his Knowledge, in the Kingdom. But that since the Removal of Secretary *Nicholas*, there had been great Alterations, and every Body knew how much his Credit was diminished. That from that Time there had not been above one or two Persons admitted into the Council at his Recommendation, or who could be suspected of any Friendship for him: On the contrary, it was well known to the whole Court, that those who had been received into the Council were long before his Enemies, who took all Opportunities to lessen his Credit with the King, and with all other Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all he said or did.

3. He said, that in his Opinion, all the Misfortunes of the Kingdom proceeded from the *Dutch* War, to which it was notoriously known he was always most averse, unless his Majesty were strengthened by foreign Alliances. That it had been attempted to strike up an Alliance both with *France* and *Spain*. But that *Spain* always flattering herself that she should never be attacked by *France*, demanded as the Price of her Friendship the Surrender of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*. That *France* would have no Union with the King, unless he could be serviceable to her Designs. That as he had given his Opinion against entering into this War, so he had never given any Counsel or Advice for the way of managing it. That he had done nothing relating to it, but the opposing certain unreasonable Propositions, such as that of the *Payment of Seamen with Tickets*, instead of Money.

That

That this had drawn upon him ſo many Enemies who took all Occaſions to inveigh againſt him, and make Friendſhip with Men of licentious Principles, who knew well enough how much he was offended with the Liberty which they took to *turn all Things ſerious and ſacred into Ridicule.* That he never gave the leaſt advice in private to the King upon the Negotiations of Peace, nor writ any Letter but by Order of Council, or at leaſt of the King himſelf and ſome other Counſellors. That if he had prepared any *Inſtructions* or *Memorials*, it was by the King's Command, and the Requeſt of the *Secretaries* who deſired his Aſſiſtance. That the whole foregoing Year he had been but twice alone with his Majeſty, and that he had been very rarely with him for the three laſt Years. That ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, his Credit was ſo low, that any Propoſal from him was immediately rejected, merely becauſe it was his. 1607.

4. He beſeeched their Lordſhips to remember the Office and Truſt he had for ſeven Years, in which, in Diſcharge of his Duty, he was obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many Men's Pretences, and to refuſe to ſet the Seal to many Men's Pardons and other Grants, which would have been profitable to thoſe who procured them, and many whereof upon his Repreſentation to his Majeſty were for ever ſtopped, which naturally raiſed him many Enemies. That he had likewiſe in Conjunction with the Earl of *Southampton* his intimate Friend laid before the King ſeveral Exceſſes in his Expence above his Revenue and by this had provoked many Perſons concerned, of great Power and Credit to do him all the ill Offices they could. But that he had never meddled with any Part of the Revenue, or the Adminiſtration of it. That in his whole Life he had never received any Preſent from any Prince, other than the Books of the *Louvre* Print, ſent him by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction.

1667. After this Defence, which I have very much abridged, he prayed the Lords to suspend their Judgement with relation to the Impeachment brought against him, till a more favourable Occasion should offer for the clearing of his Innocence.

It is communicated to the Commons. The Lords having received this Apology the 2d of *December*, desired a Conference with the *Commons* to communicate it to them. The Duke of *Buckingham* who had the Charge of delivering it, said, *The Lords have commanded me to deliver you this scandalous and seditious Paper, sent from the Earl of* Clarendon: *They bid me to present it to you, and desire you in convenient Time to send it to them again, for it has a style which they are in Love with, and therefore desire to keep it.*

Is publickly burnt. The Reading of this Defence put the *Commons* into a Flame. Some of the Earl's Enemies took occasion to make the most virulent Speeches against him, and at last the House voted his Apology *scandalous* and *malicious*, and a Reproach to the Justice of the Nation, and ordered it to be burnt by the Common Hangman.

The 13th of *December* the Lords sent to the *Commons* a *Bill* for the Banishment of the Earl of *Clarendon*, which met with great Opposition in that House. Some of the Members proposed a *Bill of Attainder* against him: At last the House voted, *that the King should be prayed to issue out his Proclamation for summoning the said Earl to appear by a Day, and to apprehend him in order to his Tryal, and that the Lords be sent to for their Concurrence in this Vote.* But the Lords refused their Concurrence because this Vote was contrary to their *Bill*.

A Bill is passed for the Earl's Banishment. Burnet, p. 256. At last, on the 18th of *December* the *Bill* sent by the Lords passed the House of *Commons*, and the King willingly gave his Assent. The Truth is, it was the King himself who had, by means of the Duke of *York*, put the Earl of *Clarendon* upon the Thought of leaving the Kingdom. Whether the Earl's Friends had at last brought the King to relent, or he was not desirous of having the Articles of Impeachment publickly

publickly diſcuſſed which might have diſcovered Things he had a Mind to conceal. 1667.

Thus was the Earl of *Clarendon* ſacrificed to the Hatred and Malice of his Enemies. But they were ſuch Enemies that it may be ſaid, his Perſecution from them did him more Honour than the Crimes, which for the moſt part were groundleſsly laid to his Charge, could injure his Reputation. Theſe Enemies were, firſt, the King himſelf, who on this occaſion forgot all the Services this faithfull Miniſter had done his Father and himſelf, at a Time when his Affection and Fidelity could not be ſuſpected, as they had no Proſpect of being ever rewarded. But what is more ſtrange is, that the King came to hate him, merely becauſe he ſerved him too well, and in a juſt concern for his Glory, did what lay in his Power to prevent his falling into Contempt, and engaging himſelf in Projects which could not but render him unfortunate. His other Enemies were the King's Miſtreſſes and Favourites, Perſons of profligate Lives, of no Religion, or of one contrary to that of the Eſtabliſhment, who hated him only becauſe they thought him too honeſt a Man, or believed him incapable of being gained over to their Deſigns. For almoſt every Body allows that not one ſingle Article of thoſe exhibited againſt him, except that of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, admitted of any Proof. *Reflections upon his Diſgrace.*

If the *Presbyterians* had procured his Ruine, there had been nothing ſtrange in it as he was their profeſſed Enemy. For it may be affirmed, that from him came all the Blows aimed at them ſince the beginning of this Reign. But the *Presbyterians* at that Time of Day had no Credit, no Acceſs either to Court or Parliament. What is moſt ſurprizing in the Downfal of this Miniſter, is the Animoſity with which he was purſued by that very Houſe of *Commons*, which he himſelf, if one may ſo ſay, had packed together of Men of the moſt High-flying Principles, with regard both to Religion and Government. But he found himſelf miſtaken in his Views. For theſe ſame Principles, as they related to the Royal Power,

fixed

1667. fixed the House with such Attachment to the King that they made no scruple of giving up the Earl of *Clarendon*, though the Head of the Party, when it was once known that the King had conceived a Dislike of him. This is not the only Time that able Politicians have laid the Foundation of their own Ruin, in seemingly the best concerted Projects.

Remarks upon his History of the Rebellion.

Amongst the great Services rendered by the Earl of *Clarendon* to *Charles* I, and *Charles* II, his excellent *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in* England is not to be forgot, which was not published till after his Death. One sees in this History undeniable Proofs of the Author's sincere Affection for *Charles* I. Nay, it is very likely that it was writ only with Design to justify the Conduct of this unfortunate Prince, and place it in the best Light it is capable of. If there is any Blemish in this History, it is that the Views of the Author are too undisguised. This has made impartial Readers think that it was not writ so much with an Intent to instruct the Publick in the Truth of Facts, as to prepossess the World by divers Artifices and numberless Insinuations in favour of a System, which all Readers who have a sufficient Knowledge of the History and Government of *England*, will, doubtless, not come into. Another Charge which lies against this Author, is the Contempt and Animosity which he every where discovers against the *Presbyterians* and the *Scots*, even in Places where it seems they are entirely forreign to his Purpose. But this came from his Heart. And his immoderate Passion against *Presbyterianism*, was this great Man's Foible. He gloried in his Hatred of the *Presbyterians*, and perhaps he contributed more than any other Person to that Excess of Animosity which subsists against them to this Day, with the Followers of his Maxims and Principles.

His great Fortune.

From the Quality of a private Gentlemen and a Lawyer, he rose to the highest Point of Fortune that a Man of his Rank could aspire to. His Merit and his inviolable Attachment to *Charles* I and *Charles* II,

raiſed him to the Dignity of Earl, of Lord High-Chancellor, and of Prime Miniſter of State. But that which gives a farther Addition to his Glory, is the Marriage of his Daughter with the Duke of *York*, from which Bed proceeded two Princeſſes ſucceſſively Queens of *England*. He ſpent the reſt of his Days in Baniſhment, amidſt *Proteſtant Presbyterians*, and *Papiſts*, whoſe declared Enemy he had been during the Time of his Favour, who nevertheleſs failed not to pay him all the Reſpects and Honours due to his Merit, and the Dignities with which his own Country had adorned him. He died at *Roan* the latter End of *December* 1674, Aged 67. 1667.

The ſame Day that the Act for the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Baniſhment paſſed in the Houſe of *Commons*, the King gave his Aſſent to it by Commiſſion. After this, he ſent a Meſſage to the two Houſes by one of his Secretaries to deſire they would adjourn to the 6th of *February*. In the Reign of *James* I, a Difference had happened between the King and *Commons*, with relation to the Power or Right of Adjournment. The *Commons* pretended that though the King had a Right to diſſolve or prorogue a Parliament, he had none to adjourn it, and that Adjournment depended entirely on each of the two Houſes. But the Lords refuſing their Concurrence, the Houſe of *Commons* were obliged to drop their Pretenſion. From that Time *James* I, and *Charles* I, ſuppoſed this Right as undeniable, though it had never been decided in form. It ſeems therefore that *Charles* II, by deſiring the Parliament to adjourn, was willing to ſhew ſome Regard to the Pretenſions of the *Commons*, or at leaſt to avoid all occaſion of Diſpute with them. But this Condeſcenſion laſted not long; for it will be afterwards ſeen that he frequently adjourned the Parliament by his own Authority, without any Uneaſineſs expreſſed by the *Commons*. Now the Difference betwixt an *Adjournment* and a *Prorogation* lies in this, that a Prorogation ends the Seſſions, and with it all Affairs which have been propoſed or debated in Parliament

The Parliament adjourns. A Remark upon it.

1667. liament but not brought to a Concluſion; ſo that they cannot ſerve as a Foundation to any Reſolutions of a new Seſſion, unleſs they are propoſed afreſh. But an Adjournment only ſuſpends or delays them till the Parliament meets again. For this Reaſon it is that when the *Commons* have voted the King a Supply, the Parliament is never, or but very ſeldom prorogued, but only adjourned (when ſome ſhort Receſs is neceſſary) in order that upon its next Meeting it may proceed upon the Vote till it be paſſed into an *Act*.

A Proclamation againſt Papiſts. Before the Parliament met in *October*, the King had publiſhed a Proclamation to order a rigorous Execution of the Laws againſt thoſe Perſons who went to hear *Maſs* at the Chapel of Ambaſſadors. He perſiſted to the laſt in his Diſſimulation with regard to Religion, and in his Deſign to impoſe a Belief upon his Subjects, that he was a good *Proteſtant*. For this properly it was that theſe ſorts of Proclamations were intended. But the Non-Performance of them had a quite contrary Effect. For Men could never be perſwaded of the Neceſſity of ſo frequent Proclamations, if the King had been in earneſt to have them executed according to Law.

The Royal Exchange *built.* This ſame Month of *October* the King went in great State to lay the firſt Stone of the Foundation of the *Royal-Exchange*: This Building was finiſhed in a very ſhort Time.

This Year, Death took out of the World *Thomas Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High-Treaſurer, as I ſaid before. The other leſs remarkable Deaths were thoſe of Dr. *Matthew Wren* Biſhop of *Ely*, the great Enemy of the *Presbyterians*, who, to revenge themſelves on him for the Hardſhips he had put upon them before the Civil War broke out, had detained him Priſoner in the *Tower* from the Year 1642 to that of the Reſtoration. He was then reſtored to his Biſhoprick of *Ely*, where he dyed aged Eighty One Years. The other Death was that of the famous Poet *Abraham Cowley* little known to Stran-

Death of Biſhop Wren.

And Mr. Cowley.

gers

gers, but much, and deſervedly eſteemed by the *Engliſh*. 1667.

1667-8. *The King reſolves to give ſome Satisfaction to the People.*

After the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon* the King and his Miniſters, of which the Earl of *Arlington*, and Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* were the Principal, believed it of abſolute Neceſſity to give ſome Satisfaction to the People, by ſome Step taken to perſwade them that the Court was Intent upon the Welfare of the Nation. The King of *France*, by his Invaſion of *Flanders*, diſcovered ſo clearly his Intention not to ſtand to the Renunciation of his Queen, of all the Members of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, that he could not poſſibly be miſtaken. Beſides, his Power was daily increaſing, whereas that of *Spain* as viſibly declined. It was therefore the Intereſt of *Europe* in general, and of *England* in particular, to take, in time, the moſt proper Meaſures to give a Check to this formidable Power, which might produce great Revolutions, if Care was not taken to ſtop its Progreſs. Nothing was more Popular than ſuch a Deſign, and nothing more capable to regain the Credit the King had loſt amongſt his Subjects. Wherefore the 1ſt of *January* 1667-8, a Reſolution was taken to enter into a ſtrict Union with the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, to prevent the King of *France*'s entire Reduction of *Flanders*, and the remainder of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Low Countries*. The Court likewiſe reſolved to uſe their Endeavours for the engaging the King of *Sweden* into the ſame Meaſures, and forming, by this Means, a *Triple* Alliance capable to intimidate *Lewis* XIV, and oblige him to proceed with more Caution.

A Tripple-Alliance concluded between England, Holland *and* Sweden.

To execute this Project, Sir *William Temple* had Orders to repair to the *Hague* out of Hand, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. I ſhall not enter into the Particulars of this Negotiation, which is to be met with in the Writings of Sir *William Temple*, publiſhed in a *French* Verſion. I ſhall only obſerve, that by the Addreſs and Dexterity of this Envoy, the Treaty of Alliance between

1667 8. tween the King and the *States* was concluded in five Days, and, which is more, ſigned by the *States-General*, without any Communication of it to the particular Provinces, which had never been practiſed before. Moreover the *Count de Dhona*, Ambaſſador of *Sweden*, engaged for his Maſter that he ſhould enter into this Treaty, if a Place was left for him to come in as a Principal. Afterwards this Count ſigned a like Treaty in the Name of the King of *Sweden* with the King of *England* and the *States-General*, after it was agreed that this Treaty ſhould be conſidered as a Part of the foregoing when ratified. Theſe Treaties were firſt ſent into *England*, and ratified by that King, and ſhortly after the King of *Sweden*'s Ratification was likewiſe received. Thus was concluded, in a very little Time, this *Triple League*, the moſt Important that had been made for many Years in *Europe*, which was to check the Power, as well as vaſt Deſigns of *France*.

Explication of this Treaty.

For the thorough underſtanding this Treaty, of which I ſhall preſently give the Subſtance, it is to be obſerved that *Louis* XIV, after his laſt Campaign, in which he had ſeized many ſtrong Places belonging to the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, had, at the preſſing Inſtances of the *States-General*, conſented to a Treaty with *Spain* till the End of *March* 1668. Moreover he had left to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, the Choice of either yielding to him the Places conquered by him the laſt Campaign, or elſe the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, or inſtead of it *Franche-Comté*, *Cambray* and *Cambreſis*, *Douay*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, *Bergue*, *Furnes*, and *Linck* for which he promiſed to ſurrender up all the reſt of his Conqueſts. Theſe Offers, as one ſees, were founded upon the Suppoſition that the Renunciation of the Queen of *France* in the Treaty of her Marriage was of no Validity. Though this Thing was decided only by the King of *France* himſelf, yet the *States-General*, ſeeing no poſſible Way of obliging him to deſiſt from his Pretenſions, had approved of this Alternative, and poſitively engaged

gaged to join their Arms with thoſe of *France*, in order to force *Spain* to embrace one or other of theſe Offers. They could not therefore receed after having gone ſo far. For which Reaſon, they reſolved to make with *England* three different Treaties, which nevertheleſs were to take Place, as containing but one and the ſame Treaty. 1667 8.

Three Treaties upon different Caſes.

The firſt Treaty contained a Defenſive Alliance between *England* and the *States-General*, againſt all Perſons whomſoever who ſhould attack either of the Parties, with a ſpecification of the Succours to be mutually given in caſe of any ſuch Attack. This Alliance to be perpetual. *1ſt Treaty.*

By the ſecond Treaty, the King and the *States* were obliged to uſe their joint Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to make Peace in the *Netherlands* on one of the propoſed Conditions, and to diſpoſe the King of *Spain* to make Choice of one of the Two before the End of *May*. But in caſe of any Difficulty made by the *Spaniards*, they engaged to uſe their Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to ſtop all farther Progreſs of his Arms in *Flanders*, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends propoſed in the *League*. *2d Treaty.*

The third Treaty contained, 1. That if in procuring Peace between *France* and *Spain* any Difficulties ſhould ariſe concerning the *Renunciation*, Care ſhould be taken ſo to ſettle the Articles of Peace, as to bring no Prejudice to the Rights or Demands of either. But if one Side only ſhould reject this Expedient, then the Allies ſhould proceed againſt the Refuſer, in the manner agreed in the ſecond Treaty. 2. That the Allies ſhould uſe their Endeavours to procure Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*. And though they did not pretend to prevent the King of *France* from giving any Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, they would nevertheleſs hinder, as far as lay in their Power, his aſſiſting that Nation by making War in the *Netherlands*. 3. But in Caſe that the King of *France* rejecting the Conditions contained in the *ſecond* Trea- *3d Treaty.*

ty,

1667-8. ty, ſhould make farther Progreſs in *Flanders*, then the Allies ſhould join with *Spain*, and make War upon the King of *France* till they had obliged him to comply with the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. 4. That all theſe Articles ſhould be ratified within the Space of one Month.

This Treaty which, as I ſaid, was ſigned by the King of *Sweden* as a Principal, and was called *the Tripple-League*, received the Applauſes of all *Europe*, except *France*. Indeed the Tendency of it was not only to ſave the *Netherlands*, purſuant to the true Intereſts of *England* and the *States-General*, but moreover to prevent a War which muſt have thrown all *Europe* into a Flame. It is perhaps the only Step made by *Charles* through the whole Courſe of his Reign, which really tended to the Benefit and Advantage of *England*. It will be ſeen hereafter that, in all likelihood, he had no other Intention than to dazzle the Publick, and amuſe the World by an Action which did him ſo much Honour. But his ill-ſupporting what he had ſo well begun, made it clear to the World that he ſinned not out of Ignorance, or for want of a throrough Knowledge of the Intereſts of his own Kingdom, and thoſe of all *Europe*.

A Peace between Spain *and* Portugal.

Shortly after Sir *William Tempte* concluded a Treaty of Commerce with the *States-General*, and about the ſame Time the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* was happily finiſhed, under the Guarantee of the King of *England*.

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

While theſe Affairs were tranſacting, the Parliament met the 10th of *February*. The King in his Speech to the Houſes informed them, that he had made a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the *States* of the *United Provinces*, and another to procure effectually a Peace between *France* and *Spain* into which the King of *Sweden* had entered as a *Principal*. He added, that the Poſture of his Neighbours and the Conſequence of the new Alliance obliging him to ſet out a Fleet to Sea, he ſhould want a ſpeed

a ſpeedy Supply; that beſides it was of abſolute Neceſſity to build ſome large Ships, and fortify the Ports: He concluded with deſiring them to think ſeriouſly of ſome Courſe to beget a better Union between his Subjects in Matters of Religion. 1667 8.

Miſmanagements examined into by the Commons.

The *Commons* joyfully received the News of the Tripple-Alliance; but before they proceeded to the Conſideration of the King's Speech, they reſolved to examine into the Miſmanagements in the late War. They appointed for this Purpoſe a Committee, which found a great many Things deſerving Reproof in the Conduct of ſeveral Perſons, "as in the Affair of "*Bergben* in *Norway*; in the plundering the *Eaſt-*"*India* Ships while the *Dutch* paſſed by; in the "not ſetting out a ſufficient Fleet laſt Year; in the "Separation of thoſe that were out, ſo that they "became uſeleſs; in the want of Proviſion and "Ammunition in the Fleet, and in the Forts; in "Payment of the Sea-men by Tickets; in the want "of Intelligence and dividing the Fleets in the ſe-"cond Year of the War; in the Buſineſs of *Chat-*"*ham*, &c." The *Commons* accuſed *Brunkard* that after the firſt Battle, he had carried falſe Orders from the Duke of *York*, while that Prince was repoſing himſelf, which had prevented the entire Deſtruction of the Enemy's Fleet. With regard to the Affair of *Chatham*, they accuſed Commiſſioner *Pett* for having neglected his Duty, and expelled him the Houſe of *Commons*. Sir *William Penn* was accuſed of having embezzled great Quantities of rich Goods taken as Prize from the *Dutch*.

1668.

The King was doubly concerned to put an End to theſe Examinations, becauſe the greateſt Part of the Miſcarriages reflected upon him, though only ſome certain Officers were directly accuſed; and beſides, the *Commons* waſted the Time which, according to him, would have been better employed in conſidering of the Supplies which he had demanded. He therefore preſſed the *Commons*, by three ſeveral Meſſages, to go upon the Money-Bill, telling them in

The King preſſes the Money Bill.

1668. his last Message, that he intended to prorogue the Parliament the 4th of *May*. But being informed that the House was not pleased with this Design, because a Prorogation would have defeated all their Measures against *Delinquents*, he let them know, the 24th of *April*, that he intended only an Adjournment for three Months; he prayed them at the same Time that the Money-Bill might be ready against the 4th of *May*.

Is addressed by both Houses to put the Laws in Execution against Papists *and* Non-Conformists.

Besides the Business of the Supply, the House of *Commons* was upon another which they had very much at Heart. They began to discover the King's secret Intentions, and believed, that under Colour of easing the *Presbyterians*, his Design was to obtain a general Indulgence for all the *Non-Conformists*, in order to include the *Papists* under that general Denomination. An Insinuation in his Speech confirmed that Suspicion. Therefore to stop the Progress of a Design so contrary to their Principles, with regard both to *Popery* and *Presbyterianism*, the House presented an Address to the King, to pray him "That "he would issue out his Proclamation for enforcing "the Laws against *Conventicles*; and that Care "might be taken for the preservation of the Peace "against all unlawful Assemblies of *Papists* and *Non-*"*Conformists*."--The King, according to his usual Custom, failed not to issue forth a Proclamation upon this Subject, in which he said, *That the Insolence of the Non-Conformists was so much the more surprizing, in that (whilst it was under Consideration to find out a way for the better Union of his Protestant Subjects) divers Persons in several Parts of this Realm frequently and openly held unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles.* He supposed that the Parliament was upon this Union, because he had recommended it to them. But this never entered into their Thoughts, unless by this Union the King had meant an entire Conformity with the Church of *England*, which was by no Means his Intention.

He puts out a Proclamation.

At

1668. *A Difference between the two Houſes*

At this Time a great Difference broke out between the two Houſes, occaſioned by Mr. *Skinner* a Merchant of *London*, who believing he had juſt Cauſe of Complaint againſt the *Eaſt-India Company*, brought the Matter by Petition into the Houſe of Lords originally. The Lords, after an Examination of it, gave him Five Thouſand Pounds Coſts upon the ſaid *Company*. On the other Hand, the *Company* having petitioned the *Commons*, they upon it ſent *Skinner* to the *Tower*, for his having applied originally to the *Lords* in an Affair which the *Common-Law* ought to have determined. The Petition preſented to the *Commons* by the *Eaſt-India Company* was voted *Scandalous* by the *Lords*, and a great many Conferences held between the two Houſes, were not capable to terminate this Difference. At laſt the *Commons* voted "That whoever ſhould be aiding "or aſſiſting in putting in Execution the Order or "Sentence of the Houſe of Lords, in the Caſe of "*Thomas Skinner* againſt the *Eaſt-India Company*, "ſhould be deemed a Betrayer of the Rights and "Liberties of the *Commons* of *England*, and an In-"fringer of the Privileges of the Houſe."

The King paſſes ſome Bills, and then adjourns, and afterwards prorogues the Parliament.

The ſame Day that this Vote paſſed in the Houſe of *Commons*, being the 5th of *May*, the King came to the Lord's Houſe, and having paſſed the *Bill* for raiſing Three Hundred and Ten Thouſand Pounds by an Impoſition on Wines and other Liquors, and to ſome other Acts, he adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of *Auguſt*. He adjourned it again a ſecond Time; and laſtly, prorogued it to the 19th of *October* 1669.

Lewis XIV *makes himſelf Maſter of* Franche-Comté.

I have already mentioned the Affairs depending between *France* and *Spain*, and the Alternative offered by the King of *France*. The Marqueſs of *Caſtel-Rodrigo*, or rather the Court of *Spain*, not being in haſte to make a Choice, *Lewis* XIV in the Month of *February* invaded the *Frenche-Comté*, and in leſs than a Fortnight made himſelf Maſter of the whole Province. This Conqueſt however did not make him

1668. riſe in his Demands, but he was ſtill willing to abide by the Offer of the two Conditions he had propoſed. But the Court of *Spain* delayed as much as was poſſible to declare upon the Alternative, deſigning to engage *England* and the *States* in a War againſt *France*. Nevertheleſs, as the Treaty of the *Tripple-League* was directly contrary to the Deſign of *Spain*, (the three Allies being only engaged to take up Arms in caſe the King of *France* ſtood not to his Propoſal) it was not poſſible for the Court of *Spain* to compaſs their Ends. At laſt, after a great many Tergiverſations, the Marqueſs of *Caſtel-Rodrigo* declared that he accepted the firſt Part of the *Alternative*, by which *France* was to keep what had been conquered the laſt Campaign. This Choice ſurprized the *States*, who had relied on the *Spaniards* accepting rather the ſecond Propoſal of the *Alternative*, which appeared leſs diſadvantagious to them. But the *Spaniſh* Policy aimed at throwing *England* and the *States* into an unavoidable Neceſſity of entering into a War with *France*, if the leaſt Step ſhould be taken by her to puſh her Conqueſts in the *Netherlands*.

The Court of Spain *accepts one of the Alternatives.*

Peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle.

This Choice being made, the Peace had no longer any Difficulty. The Town of *Aix la Chapelle* was agreed on for the Place of Treaty, and the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain* repairing thither, the Treaty was concluded and ſigned the 2d of *May*, after a Negotiation of Fifteen Days. The Treaty contained in Subſtance that the King of *France* ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aith*, *Doway*, *Fort-de-la-Scarpe*, *Tournay*, *Oudenarde*, *Liſle*, *Armentiers*, *Courtray*, *Borghes*, *Furnes*, with all their Dependencies. The King of *France* on his Side reſtored *Franche-Comté* to the Crown of *Spain*. The *States* in Alliance were *Guarantees* of this Peace, and all other Princes and States were allowed to be ſo too if they pleaſed.

The Dutch *challenge the Honour of it.*

Though the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* had conſiderably augmented the Power of *France*, the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces* believed nevertheleſs that

that they had done a great Thing in ſtopping the Career of the *French* Arms, and preventing their further Progreſs. They aſcribed to themſelves the whole Glory and Merit of this Succeſs, though indeed the *Tripple-League* had never come into their Heads had it not been propoſed by the King of *England*. To immortalize their Glory they ſtruck a Medal, on one Side of which was ſeen *Holland* leaning againſt a Trophy, and upon the Reverſe words to this Effect: *That they had reſtored and ſecured the Laws; amended and reformed Religion; aſſiſted, defended and reconciled Kings; reſtored Freedom to the Ocean; procured by their Arms a glorious Peace, and eſtabliſhed the Tranquillity of all* Europe. On the other Hand, *Joſuah Van Beuninghen*, who had been employed in negotiating this Peace, ſtruck a Medal, and compared himſelf to *Joſuah* ſtopping the Courſe of the Sun. As the King of *France* had taken the *Sun* for his Device, the Meaning of this Medal could not be miſtaken. But the *States* immediately ſuppreſſed it. As for the firſt and ſome others which diſcovered an unwarrantable Preſumption, they were not broke in Pieces till ſome Years afterwards. It will be ſeen in the Sequel that they had but too juſt Cauſe to repent of this Inſult offered to *Lewis* XIV.

1668.

and ſtrike a Medal.

When I ſaid above that *Charles*, according to all appearance, propoſed the *Tripple-League* only to amuſe the Publick, and appeaſe the Diſcontents of the People, which began to appear, I founded this Conjecture firſt upon Sir *William Temple*'s not being able to forbear ſuſpecting that the King would not long continue in this Reſolution. This Suſpicion of his appears from ſeveral of his Letters. But as they were writ to the Earl of *Arlington* Secretary of State, he contented himſelf with inſinuating his Thought without daring to ſpeak too plain. Secondly, it has been ſeen in a Letter of the King of *France* to *d'Eſtrades*, how little Concern *Charles* had for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, ſince, believing that *Lewis* had Views that way, he offered to let him make

Reaſons which make it plain that Charles *only amuſed the Publick.*

1668. that Conqueſt unmoleſted, without reſerving one Inch of Land to himſelf, provided *Lewis* would abandon the *States-General*. Thirdly, the Sale of *Dunkirk* to *France* diſcovered clearly that any Conqueſts made by *Lewis* in *Flanders* would give but little Jealouſy or Uneaſineſs to *Charles*. In the fourth Place, at the very time that all *Europe* was diſſolved in Joy for the happy Concluſion of the *Tripple-League*, Sir *Thomas Clifford* the King's Favourite ſaid openly, ---- *Well, for all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with the* Dutch *before it be long*. In the fifth Place *France* her ſelf did not diſcover any great Uneaſineſs at this Tripple-Alliance. She not only inſiſted upon her Pretenſions, but even Mr. *de Lionne* Secretary of State writing to *d'Eſtrades* on occaſion of this Tripple-Alliance, has theſe words ---- *If the* Dutch *enter into Alliances contrary to the Intereſts of his Majeſty, we ſhall not be ſo much troubled at it as they imagined: I know what I ſay, and upon what Foundation I ſpeak it.* If to this is added King *Charles*'s following Conduct in making a League with *France* againſt *Holland*, one cannot help ſuſpecting that from that time there was a ſecret Underſtanding between *France* and *England*. Sixthly, Events are commonly the beſt Interpreters of Men's Actions. And we ſhall ſee preſently that *Charles* made but little Account of his Engagements in the Tripple-Alliance; but it is not time yet to talk of theſe Matters.

The King lives in great Diſorder.

After the Removal of the Earl of *Clarendon* the Scene was entirely changed at the *Engliſh* Court. The King more at eaſe by the Abſence of a Miniſter whoſe Preſence was a Reproach upon his Conduct, gave himſelf up to his Pleaſures without any Reſerve or Diſcretion. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had no Religion, and gloried in his Debaucheries, and *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, the greateſt Wit, and the moſt ſatyrical licentious Poet of his Age, were his principal Favourites. To theſe two Men and his Miſtreſſes the King gave up almoſt his whole Time, and it was with Difficulty that his Miniſters could find any Oppor-

Opportunity of ſpeaking to him concerning his Affairs. Pleaſures and Debauches were the whole Entertainment of the Court, and Vice appeared bare-faced and open. In a word, *England* had never beheld a more diſorderly Court, and unluckily the bad Example ſet by it had but too much Influence upon the Subjects in General. The King was Prodigal to Exceſs. Beſides his ſtanding Revenues, which, as we have ſeen, amounted to Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, he had conſumed the Eighteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds given him laſt Year by the Parliament in Expences, quite foreign to the Uſes for which it was intended. This Year he had asked a Supply of his Parliament, pretending a Neceſſity to build ſome new Ships of War, and to put a great Fleet to Sea, in Maintenance of the Engagements he had entered into by the Tripple-Alliance. The Parliament had granted him Three Hundred and Ten Thouſand Pounds, but the *Act* not paſſing till two Days after the Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle* was ſigned, not a Ship was built, and the Neceſſity of a Fleet to be put to Sea vaniſhed at once. Notwithſtanding this he was always in want, and his Revenues perpetually anticipated. 1668. *Is very profuſe.*

But a ſtill greater Misfortune to *England* was, that only *Papiſts* or Men of no Religion had any Credit at Court. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the King's Miſtreſſes, were not Perſons from whom much could be expected to ſtop the Progreſs of Popery. The Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State, was like the King a diſguiſed, and *Clifford* a declared *Papiſt*. The Duke of *York* was not only a Catholick, but moreover exceeding zealous for his Religion. As he was looked upon as Preſumptive Heir to the Crown, every body made their Court to him, and with the more Application, as his Revenues being great and his Management frugal, he had wherewithal to engage the Courtiers to him, to fix his Dependents to his Intereſts. He had ſo powerful a Party at Court, and ſo many of his Creatures about *Great Encouragement and Succeſſes of the Papiſts;*

1668. the King's Person, that he was almost absolute there, and able to direct the Resolutions of the Council. In short, if the King had any Religion, he was most inclined to *Popery*. He found besides a considerable Advantage in caressing the *Papists*, whom he esteemed as his firm Friends, whereas he could not help dreading the Zeal of the *Protestants*, in case they should discover that he had abjured their Religion.

The King's Design to make himself absolute.

After this view of the State of the *English* Court, it is easy to conceive that those who had the greatest Credit, and the freest Access to the King's Person, could by no means intend the Benefit of the Kingdom. Every one of his most intimate Counsellors would have been glad to see the King absolute, that he might have at command the whole Riches of *England* to lavish away upon them. The King himself was so uneasy to see that he was obliged continually to devise fresh Pretences to demand Money of his Parliament, that he could have wished to be delivered from that Trouble, and to be more at Liberty to take what he wanted without asking. But on the other Hand, he saw himself obliged to proceed with Caution, the Example of the King his Father not permitting him to enter into the same Course, before he had well concerted his Measures. This was the Reason that for some Years the Court-Projects were executed gradually, and with great Dissimulation, notwithstanding the warm Temper of the Duke of *York*, and the Eagerness of the *Papists*. For it may be affirmed, that the King alone opposed their Career, whether out of Fear or Prudence.

The King visits divers Places. Sends a Fleet into the Mediterranean. Embassies.

This Summer the King diverted himself with making several Progresses into the Country to view the Ports and Navy. He sent a Squadron into the *Mediterranean* commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, who forced the *Algerines* to a Peace very advantagious to *England*.

Nothing memorable, besides what has been taken notice of, happened during the rest of the Year, except some Embassies which the Sequel requires should

should be mentioned. Sir *William Godolphin* was sent to the Court of *Spain*; Mr. *Ralph Montague* was first Envoy, and soon after Ambassador to *France*; the Earl of *Carlisle* went Ambassador to *Stockholm**; and Sir *William Temple* Ambassador extraordinary to the *States-General*. On the other Hand, *Monsieur Colbert* was sent from *France* to reside at the *English* Court. 1668.

Advancements at Court.

Some Changes were likewise made at Court in the publick Employs. Sir *Thomas Clifford* was made Treasurer of the Houshold; the Duke of *Monmouth* the King's natural Son was made Captain of his Life-Guard of Horse; Sir *John Trevor*, lately returned from *France*, where he had been Envoy, was sworn one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, on the Resignation of Sir *William Morrice*, to whom he gave Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*.

Deaths.

This Year died *Algernoon Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, and was succeeded by his Son *1: The famous Poets *Davenant* and *Denham*; and the great Soldier Sir *William Waller*, so often mentioned in the History of the Civil Wars. He had been imprisoned by the *Independent* Parliament, and confined till the King's Restoration, when he was delivered on account of his Sufferings in some measure the same with those of the *Royalists*.

1669.

The King changes his Measure with regard to the Tripple-Alliance.

Though the Year 1669 produced no memorable Events, yet was it a fatal Year to *Europe*, since it was probably this Year that Measures were beginning to be concerted for the strict Union of *France* with *England*. At least, we find in Sir *William Temple*'s Letters, that Mr. *Puffendorf*, who had been sent this Year Envoy from *Sweden* to the Court of *France*, calling at the *Hague* in his Return back, said to Sir *William Temple*, that a Minister at the *French* Court had assured him that the *Tripple-Alliance* would not subsist,

* With Sir *Samuel Moreland* as Envoy.

*1 Who died within two Years, and with him was extinct the antient and famous Family of the *Percy*'s.

1669. subsist, and that the *English* Court had already changed their Measures. The same Mr. *Puffendorf* saw a Letter in Marshal *Turenne*'s Hands at *Paris*, from Monsieur *Colbert* the *French* Ambassador at *London*, wherein, that Ambassador speaking of the *English* Court, has these Words ——— *I have at last made them sensible of the whole Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.* This leaves no room to doubt but that *Colbert*'s Embassy to *London* was designed to gain or corrupt the *English* Court, and that he met with Success. For the Time only is in Dispute, the Thing itself appeared manifestly in the Sequel.

Is gained by France.

The Prince of Tuscany *arrives in* England.

The latter End of *March Cosmo de Medicis* Prince of *Tuscany* arrived in *England*, where he was received with all the Honours due to his Birth and particular Merit. As his Design was only to see *England* after he had visited *Spain* and *France*, he was shown, by Order of the King, whatever was curious, and particularly the two Universities.

Prince George *of* Denmark.

Shortly after his Departure, Prince *George* of *Denmark* came to pay the King a Visit, but he made no long Stay then in *England*.

Theater at Oxford *opened.*

The 9th of *July* the large and magnificent Theater at *Oxford*, built at the Expence of Dr. *Sheldon* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was opened. He was then Chancellor of the University, and shortly after resigned that Honour to the Duke of *Ormond*. The Duke was still Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but shortly after was removed and succeeded by the Lord *Roberts*, who was not of the same Principles with the Duke.

The King's Scheme for Religion.

In all appearance the King had already formed a sort of Scheme with regard to Religion. This was to incorporate the *Presbyterians* with the Church of *England*, and procure a *Toleration* for all the other Sects of *Non-conformists*. He might have a double View in this. His first might be to gain the *Presbyterians*, who were very numerous in the Kingdom, to his Interests, and perhaps make use of them, thus united with the Church of *England*, to allay the Heat of

the *Epiſcoparians*, who were not leſs Enemies to the *Papiſts* than to the *Presbyterians*. If the King had not been a *Papiſt*, which was a Secret then little known, it would have been difficult to underſtand his Politicks. For ſuppoſing him a zealous Member of the Church of *England*, what need had he of guarding againſt her? But being a *Catholick*, the Advantage of theſe Precautions are very viſible. His ſecond View, allowed by all the World, and manifeſtly diſcovered afterwards, was by procuring an Indulgence for all *Non-conformiſts* without Exception, to procure likewiſe the ſame Favour for the *Papiſts*. In purſuance of this Scheme the King and his Miniſters affected to ſhew great Kindneſs for the *Presbyterians*, and this Behaviour gave them Encouragement to appear more openly, and hold their Aſſemblies with leſs Caution and Secrecy than they had done before. In ſhort, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Lord-Keeper, whether privy to the King's ſecret Intentions, or led merely by his own obliging Temper and Humanity, ordered two of the moſt eminent *Presbyterian* Miniſters to be acquainted that he deſired a Conference with them*. They waited on him, and he frankly told them, that his Deſign was to make them ſome Propoſals for a Comprehenſion of ſuch Diſſenters as could be brought into the Communion of the Church of *England*, and for procuring a Toleration for the *Independents* and the reſt. Upon this Occaſion theſe two *Presbyterian* Miniſters had ſeveral Conferences with two Epiſcopal Doctors *1, one of them Chaplain to the Lord-Keeper. When it is remembred that at the *Savoy*-Conference, held in the Beginning of this Reign, the two Parties could come to no manner of Agreement, and that in the preſent Conference Matters were immediately adjuſted, there is no room to doubt that the two *Epiſcopal Divines* came fully prepared to facilitate the Accommodation. However

1669.

The Preſbyterians careſſed.

A Project of a Comprehenſion, in order to which the Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal procures a Conference between ſome Church of England *and Preſbyterian Miniſters.*

* *Manton* and *Baxter*.

*1 Dr. *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton* the Keeper's Chaplain.

1669. *The Church Ministers make large Concessions*

However that be, they agreed amongst themselves upon the Point of *Re-ordination*, which they most differed about, and settled it that all *Presbyterian* Ministers who had already been ordained, should be admitted into the Ministry of the Church of *England* with this Form ------- *Take thou* Legal *Authority to preach the Word of God, and administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of* England, *where thou shalt be* lawfully *appointed thereunto.* This was not properly a *new Ordination*, but simply a Power to exercise their Ministry in the Church of *England*. It was likewise agreed that *Ceremonies* should be left indifferent, so that they might be used or not, according as every Man saw convenient; and that the *Liturgy* should be altered in several Places: Moreover, that those who could not be *comprehended* should be *indulged*: and for Security to the Government, the Names of *the Teachers*, and all the Members of the *Congregations* should be registred. Agreeably to this Scheme the Lord Chief Justice *Hales* took upon him to draw up a *Bill* against the ensuing Parliament, and the Lord-Keeper promised to support it with all his Power. It is easy to perceive that this Project, however necessary to the King's Designs, was nevertheless directly contrary to the Principles of the Parliament, who were averse to all sort of Condescension; so that it only ended in Smoke.

The Archbishop of Canterbury tries to break the Measures for a Comprehension.

In the mean time, whether the Secret of what passed in the Conferences was not well kept, or the *Non-conformists*, by Encouragement from the Court assumed too much Liberty, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* resolved to use his utmost Endeavours to break their Measures. For this purpose he writ to all his Suffragan-Bishops a Circular Letter, enjoining them to make exact Inquiry into the *Conventicles* held in their Dioceses. After he was provided with the necessary Informations, he went to the King and obtained from him a Proclamation to put the Laws against *Conventicles* in Execution, and particularly the *Act* for restraining *Non-conformists* from inhabiting

in *Corporations*. This Proclamation was executed much in the ſame manner with others againſt *Papiſts*. For, about two Months after, the King ordered the *Non-conformiſt* Miniſters to be told from him, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy, and if they thought fit to Petition him they ſhould be favourably heard. A Petition was accordingly drawn up and preſented to the King at the Earl of *Arlington*'s Lodgings, who received it graciouſly, and returned a favourable Anſwer. * 1669.

A Petition of the Non-conformiſts *favourably received by the King.*

The Parliament according to the Prorogation met the 19th of *October*. The King in a ſhort Speech demanded Money for the diſcharge of his Debts, and propoſed in few Words the Union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. Then the Lord-Keeper enlarged a little upon theſe Points. But the *Commons* inſtead of taking the King's Speech into Conſideration went upon other Affairs. The Publick Accounts were examined, and it was enquired to what uſe the King had employed the Money given him by the Parliament, and Sir *George Carteret*'s Books being found in great Diſorder, he was expelled the Houſe. Then they addreſſed the King to thank him for his Proclamation againſt *Conventicles*, and prayed him to look ſtrictly to the Execution of it.

The Commons *examine the Publick Accounts.*

But not contented with this Step, they appointed a Committee to inquire into the Behaviour of the *Non-Conformiſts*. This Committee after having received divers Informations, reported, *That in the very Neighbourhood of the Parliament, divers Conventicles and other ſeditious Meetings were held, where diſaffected Perſons in great Numbers aſſembled in Defiance of the Government, and to the Danger of both Houſes, and of the Peace of the Kingdom.* It ſeems that the Houſe was ſomewhat aſhamed to ſhew ſo much Reſentment againſt the *Presbyterians* merely on the account of Religion, and therefore with great Care brought in the Intereſt

Proceedings againſt the Non-conformiſts.

* His Anſwer was, *That he would do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the publick Eſtabliſhment.*

1669. Intereſt of the State to have it believed that the *Preſbyterians* were guilty of Sedition. For they were always included under the general Denomination of *Non-Conformiſts*, ſo that it was believed they ought to be reſponſible for the Conduct of the other Sects, with whom they had nothing to do. Upon the Report of the Committee, the Houſe declared that they would firmly adhere to the King in the Maintainance of the Government of the Church and State, againſt all the Enemies of both. When it is conſidered that the State had never enjoyed a more perfect Tranquillity than at this Juncture, it cannot be doubted that this Reſolution of the *Commons* was owing to the Project juſt now mentioned, which doubtleſs they were acquainted with, and were deſirous to prevent the Execution of by this indirect Declaration of their Oppoſition to it.

Vote of the Commons

At laſt the *Commons* voted the King a Supply of four Hundred Thouſand Pounds. But before they conſidered of the Ways and Means to raiſe this Sum, they reſumed the Debate relating to *Skinner* and the *Eaſt-India* Company, and came to ſeveral Reſolutions, which the Lords deemed as ſo many Violations of their Privileges and Authority. The Diviſion between the Houſes increaſing daily, the King ſaw it would be very difficult to bring them to an Accommodation, and that the *Commons* would not meddle with the Money-Bill till this Affair was ended, and as he had no hope to ſee the End of it, he prorogued the Parliament the 11th of *December*, to the 14th of *February* following.

The Commons *vote the King a Supply.*

The Difference of the two Houſes renewed.

The Parliament prorogued.

The Parliament of *Scotland* met about the ſame Time with that of *England*. But before I come to the Tranſactions of this Parliament, it will, I think, be no Digreſſion, briefly to ſhow the Character of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the King's *High-Commiſſioner*: This Nobleman made ſo great a Figure in the preſent Reign, both in *England* and *Scotland*, that it will not be foreign to the Purpoſe to take ſome Notice of him.

Affairs of Scotland.

The

1669. *Character of* Lauderdale.

The Earl of *Lauderdale*, afterwards created a Duke, was a rigid *Presbyterian* during the Troubles in *Scotland*, a zealous *Covenanter*, and a diſtinguiſhed Enemy of the Royal Authority. He nevertheleſs threw himſelf into the King's Party in 1647, when Duke *Hamilton* invaded *England*, in Support of *Charles* I. From this Time his Country looked on him as a declared Enemy. But after the Arrival of *Charles* II in *Scotland* and the Compoſure of the Differences in that Kingdom, he followed the King into *England*, was taken Priſoner at the Battle of *Worceſter*, and by Removals from one Priſon to another, continued in Confinement till the King's Reſtoration. During his Impriſonment he had great Impreſſions of Religion on his Mind. But after the King had received him into his Favour and Council, he ſo entirely wore them out, that hardly any Trace of them was left. Whether from a Knowledge of the ſecret Sentiments of the King and Duke of *York*, with regard to Religion, or only from a Suſpicion of them, he was of Opinion that the beſt way to preſerve himſelf in the Favour he enjoyed, was to enter into all the King's ſuppoſed Views, and to labour to render him abſolute in both Kingdoms. Upon the King's Reſtoration it was debated in Council, whether *Epiſcopacy* ſhould be reſtored in *Scotland*. The Duke of *Lauderdale* oppoſed the Motion with all his Power, and gave this extraordinary Reaſon for it, namely, That the *Scots*, if they were governed according to the Grain of their own Inclinations, would be always at the King's Devotion on any occaſion of Diſpute he might afterwards have with the Parliament of *England*. This Advice, though it was not complied with, was acceptable to the King, and rivetted the Duke in his Favour. The Reſolution to reſtore *Epiſcopacy* having been executed, no Perſon appeared more ardent againſt the *Presbyterians*, nor had they a more violent Perſecutor. I ſhall doubtleſs have occaſion to ſay more of him afterwards, but this may ſuffice to give the Reader ſome Idea of his Character.

It

1669. *The Scotch Parliament raises higher the King's Supremacy, and approves by an Act the raising of the* Militia. *The Intention of this Act.*

It was through his Means and Intrigues that the Parliament, held this Year in *Scotland*, made an Act which raised the King's *Supremacy* higher than ever it had been carried before. The same Parliament approved the raising of the *Militia*, and ordained by an express Act, that it might be employed in any Country of the King's Dominion without any Application to the King for his express Order, and that it should be obliged to obey any Orders of the *Scotch* Council. It was not at first known what could be the Intent of an *Act* which seemed to take the *Militia* out of the King's Hands, to put it into those of the Council. But it was understood afterwards that this was a Contrivance of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, to put these Troops into the King's Power whenever he had occasion for them, without his appearing openly to call them into *England*, and that any Complaints, in Case of a Miscarriage, might be against the Council; this may let us see that he was then forming Designs to render the King absolute in *England*.

Deaths of the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Albemarle *and Mr.* Prynn.

This Year the King's Mother died in *France*, the 20th of *August*, in the Sixtieth Year of her Age. The famous Duke of *Albemarle* died likewise the 3d of *January*, and was succeeded in his Estate and Honour by *Christopher* his only Son. To these Deaths let us add that of the famous *Prynn*, the indefatigable Author of more than two Hundred Treatises, most of them of little Esteem *.

The King's Speech to his Parliament.

The Parliament meeting the 14th of *February*, the King told the two Houses—— "That when they last "met, he asked them a Supply, and now asked it "again with greater Instance: The Uneasiness and "Straitness of his Affairs could not continue with- "out very ill Effects to the whole Kingdom. He "let them know, that having fully examined the "State

* Let it be remembered of him, that he was a considerable Instrument in the Restoration, was received into Favour, had the *Records* of the *Tower* committed to him, which he put into good Order, and died a Member of the present Parliament.

" State of the Expences in the laſt War, he could 1669 70.
" aſſure them that no Part of thoſe Moneys that they
" had given him had been converted to other uſes.
" But on the contrary, that a very great Sum had
" been raiſed out of his ſtanding Revenue and Cre-
" dit, and a very great Debt contracted, and all for
" the War. Laſtly, he recommended to them not
" to ſuffer any Occaſion of Difference between them-
" ſelves to be revived." ——

The Lord-Keeper ſeconded his Speech with another, which I think it neceſſary to inſert at length, to ſhew the Confidence which the King repoſed in this Parliament, which had already granted him ſuch large Sums.

My Lords, and you Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons,

" AT your laſt Meeting, his Majeſty did ac-
" quaint you with the great Occaſions he had
" for a Supply, and that he had forborn to ask it
" ſooner, more in Conſideration of giving ſome
" Time for the Eaſe of the People, after the Burden
" of the laſt War, than that the Condition of his Af-
" fairs could ſo long have wanted it: And his Ma-
" jeſty hath commanded me now to ſpeak more ful-
" ly and plainly upon that Subject. His Majeſty
" hath not only by his Miniſters, but in his own
" Royal Perſon examined the Accompts, touching
" the Expences of the laſt War, and hath thought
" himſelf concerned to let you know, that all the
" Supplies which you gave him for the War, have
" been by him applied to the War, and no Part of
" them to any other Uſes: Nay, ſo far from it,
" that if the Preparations towards the War ſhall be
" taken for the uſe of the War, as they muſt be;
" a great part of his own Revenue, to many Hun-
" dred Thouſands of Pounds, hath been employed
" alſo, and ſwallowed up in the Charge of the War,
" and what did neceſſarily relate to it. To which

1669 70. " may be added the great Debts contracted by his
" Majeſty in this War, and the great Repairs of the
" Hulls of his Ships, and putting his Navy into ſuch
" a Condition as it was before. Beſides, his Majeſ-
" ty thinks it ought to be conſidered, that when the
" Charges of the War were at the higheſt, the inevi-
" table Effects of it, and thoſe other Calamities,
" which it pleaſed God at that Time to bring upon
" us, did make ſo great a Diminution of his Reve-
" nues, that beſides all other Accidents and Diſad-
" vantages, the Loſs that he ſuſtained in three Branch-
" es of his Revenue, in the *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, and
" *Hearth-Money*, by reaſon of the War, the Plague,
" and the Fire, did amount to little leſs then to ſix
" Hundred Thouſand Pounds. Thus you ſee, that
" though your Supplies have been great, yet the
" Charges occaſioned by the War, and the Calami-
" ties which accompanied it, have been greater:
" And that the Debt which is left upon his Majeſty,
" and which he complains of, hath been contracted
" by the War, and not by the Diverſion of the Mo-
" neys deſigned for it.

" His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſay one
" Thing more to you upon this Subject, That he did
" not enter into the War upon any private Inclina-
" tion or Appetite of his own. The firſt Step he
" made towards it, did ariſe from your Advice, and
" the Promiſes of your Aſſiſtance: But if the Char-
" ges and Accidents of the War have out-gone all
" your Supplies, and left him under the Burden of
" this Debt, he thinks that as well the Juſtice to
" your Promiſe, as the Duty and Loyalty you have
" always ſhewed him, will oblige you to relieve
" him from it: And the rather, when you ſhall ſeri-
" ouſly conſider, how uneaſy this Burden muſt be
" unto him, and what ill Conſequences the Continu-
" ance under it muſt draw upon all his Affairs; in
" which particular you, and every Perſon you repre-
" ſent in this Nation, will be concerned, as well as
" himſelf. His Majeſty doth therefore command me

" in

"in his Name, to desire you once more, and to "conjure you, by that constant Duty and Loyalty "which you have always expressed to him, and by "all the Concernment you have for the Support of "the Honour and Safety of his Government to pro- "vide such a Supply for him at this Time, as may "bear Proportion with the pressing Occasions that "he hath, and to the State of his Affairs at home "and abroad; and so speedily and effectually, as "may answer the Ends for which he hath desired it. "His Majesty hath further commanded me to put "you in Mind of what was at your last Meeting "proposed to you, concerning an *Union between the* "*two Kingdoms*, and to let you know, that the Par- "liament of *Scotland*, hath since declared to his Ma- "jesty, *That such Commissioners as his Majesty shall* "*name, shall be authorized on their Part, to treat* "*with Commissioners for this Kingdom upon the Grounds* "*and Conditions of the Union.* His Majesty therefore "thought it fit now again to recommend it unto "you, to take that Matter effectually into your Con- "sideration." 1669-70.

A large Supply granted to the King.

One must have been very hard-hearted not to be touched with this moving Story of the King's Wants after he had so gloriously finished a War against *Holland*, for which the Parliament had allowed him no more than five Millions five Hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, and 310000 *l.* since the Peace. Therefore the *Commons* to give effectual Marks of their Affection for the King, and of their Reliance on the Truth of every Syllable of the Keeper's Speech, voted the King a Supply capable to deliver him from the heavy Burden under which he laboured. For this Purpose they prepared two *Bills*, one *to lay a Duty upon all Wines and Vinegar imported into the Kingdom, from the 1st of* June 1670, *to the 1st of* June 1678; the other, *for the advancing the Sale of his Majesty's Fee-Farm Rents, and other Rents.* The first, upon a Computation made, would produce 560,000

1669 70. Pounds *Sterling*, the other a Sum double to that. So that the King might depend upon receiving from these two *Bills*, about Seventeen Hundred Thousand Pounds. Thus the King received for this glorious War with *Holland*, seven Millions Seven Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, which amount to Eighty-two Millions Five Hundred and Sixty Thousand *Dutch* Florins. Nevertheless there are some *English* Writers who seem to triumph that this War cost the States forty Millions.

The King reconciles the two Houses.

The Quarrel between the two Houses reviving in this Session, the King, apprehensive of the Consequences of it, called both Houses to *White-Hall*, and proposed to them an Expedient for an Accommodation. This was to say no more of the Difference, but to raze all *Entries* and *Records*, *Votes* and *Resolutions* concerning the Business of the *East-India* Company and *Skinner*, which was agreed to, and so the Dispute was at an End.

Address against Non-conformists *and* Papists.

This Agreement produced an Address presented jointly to the King by both Houses the 11th of *March*, to pray him to issue out his Orders for the Suppression of *Conventicles* held by *Non-Conformists*, and more especially in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to have an Eye to the strict Execution of the Law against *Popish Recusants*. The King answered, that effectual Course should be taken in both Cases.

1670. *Divers Acts.*

The 11th of *April* the King came to the House, and passed twelve *Acts*, two of which were for the Money-*Bills* before-mentioned, and a Third for the Suppression of *seditious Conventicles*----The Substance of this last was that, "If any Persons upwards of "Sixteen should be present at any *Assembly*, *Conven-* "*ticle*, or *Meeting*, under Colour or Pretence of any "Exercise of Religion, in any other manner than "according to the *Liturgy* and *Practice* of the Church "of *England*, where there was Five Persons or more "besides those of the Household; in such Cases the "Offenders were to pay Five Shillings for the first "Offence, and Ten for the second. And the *Preacher* "*or*

One against Conventicles.

" *ers* and *Preachers* in any ſuch *Meetings* were to for- 1670.
" feit Twenty Pounds for the firſt, and Forty for
" the ſecond Offence. And laſtly, thoſe who ſuffer-
" ed any ſuch *Conventicles* in their Houſes, Barns,
" Yards, *&c.* were likewiſe to forfeit Twenty
" Pounds." The greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Hiſto-
rians, who are moſt attached to the Church of *Eng-
land*, endeavour to excuſe the Severity of this *Act*, by
ſaying, that Politicks, and the Care of the Govern-
ment were more concerned in it than Religion. But
this is always by the Means of the general Name of
Non-Conformiſts, under which the *Presbyterians* were
comprehended, though ſince the King's Reſtoration,
they had never been engaged with the other *Sects* in
any Inſurrection, or ill Deſigns againſt the Govern-
ment.

After theſe *Acts* were paſſed, the King adjourned *Parlia-
ment ad-
journed.*
the Houſes to the 24th of *October*.

It ſeems that hitherto the King had Reaſon to be
pleaſed with a Parliament, which beſides a ſtanding
Revenue of Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds
Sterling, had granted him for the ſingle War with
Holland, more than Seven Millions and a half, without
including ſo many other extraordinary Sums granted
him before the War. This Parliament ſuppoſing the
King a zealous Member of the *Proteſtant*-Church of
England only deſired two Things, which upon that
Suppoſition could give him no manner of Trouble.
The one was to come into their Views and Meaſures
for the Deſtruction of the *Presbyterians*; the other
to put it out of the Power of the *Papiſts* to give
any farther Uneaſineſs to the *Proteſtants*. On the
other Hand, the Parliament might juſtly ſuppoſe
that after they had carried the Royal Prerogative ſo
high, the King had Reaſon to be pleaſed, and would
concur with every Expedient neceſſary to preſerve a
happy Union with a Parliament ſo devoted to him.
It is certain, that if the King had entirely complied
with the Parliament in theſe two Articles, and con-
fined himſelf with Regard to his own Authority

1670. within the large Bounds which the Parliament ſeemed to ſet him, he might have ſpent his Days with more Happineſs, Tranquillity, and Plenty, than any of his Predeceſſors. But the Parliament being miſtaken in their Suppoſition, it is by no Means ſurprizing, that the King would not enter into their Views. Inſtead of being zealous for the *Proteſtant* Religion, his Intent was to overturn it: Inſtead of having any Thought of deſtroying the *Presbyterians*, his Deſign was to be very indulgent to them, in order to have an Opportunity and Pretence to be ſo to the *Papiſts*: Inſtead of being content with the Power with which the Parliament had inveſted him, he thought it unbecoming a King to found the Extent of his Authority upon *Acts* of Parliament only. Beſides, it was a great Mortification to him to ſee himſelf obliged to demand Money, and to uſe for that Purpoſe Pretences notoriouſly falſe, though the Parliament ſeemed to be ſatisfied with them. It would have been more agreeable to him to ſay *It is my Will and Pleaſure*, than to ſee himſelf obliged to deſcend to low Intreaties, and a ſervile Courtſhip of the *Commons*. This his Favourites were continually ſuggeſting to him, and this the Example of what he had himſelf ſeen practiſed in neighbouring *States* ſtrongly prompted him to. He was therefore impatient to free himſelf from the Reſtraints put upon him by his Parliament, and the rather, as by augmenting his Power, he ſhould be more able to countenance the *Papiſts*, and introduce their Religion, which was his own as well as his Brother's. But if Father *Orleans* the Jeſuit is to be credited, theſe were not the Motives which prevailed with the King to take other Reſolutions ——— *It was*, according to that Father, *only the Indignation which his Miniſters had to ſee a Republican Spirit ſo triumphant in the Parliament, and the Inſults it daily put upon the Royal Authority. Amongſt other Conſiderations the Tripple-Alliance into which the Republican-Cabal had forced the King, contrary to his Inclination, appeared to them an audaci-*

The King's Deſigns.

Extract from Father Orleans's *Hiſtory.*

audacious Uſurpation upon the Royal Prerogative, the Conſequences of which were to be prevented. Fired with theſe Reſentments, they perſwaded the King to render himſelf Abſolute in purſuance of the Rights of his Crown, and the Laws of the Kingdom; to confine the Parliament within the Bounds preſcribed by immemorial Cuſtom, and not to ſuffer an unnatural Mixture of a Republick with a Monarchy, which the Subject had introduced by Violence and Incroachments, for fear this Mixture ſhould in Time produce a monſtrous Anarchy, and expoſe England *to a horrible Confuſion, like that from whence ſhe was ſo lately delivered.* 1670.

I ſhall take no Notice of the ſlender Foundation on which this Writer aſcribes a *Republican* Spirit to this Parliament; nor of the Force put upon the King with relation to the *Tripple-Alliance* by the pretended *Republican-Cabal*; nor of the Maxims which he lays down with reſpect to the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government. Every unbiaſſed Reader, I imagine, is capable to ſee clearly the Weakneſs of this Reaſoning. But ſince Father *Orleans* himſelf ſays that he had his Informations from *James* II, with relation to the Reign of the King his Brother and his own, I believe this Hiſtorian's Word may be taken that at the Time I am ſpeaking of, *Charles* had come to a Reſolution of rendering himſelf abſolute. This is a Truth which is always to be remembered if we deſire to have a perfect Knowledge of the Events of this Reign. *He aims to be abſolute.*

This Reſolution being taken, the King eaſily ſaw that the Execution of it required an artful and cautious Conduct, and was to be managed at firſt by ſecret and imperceptible Methods, which would not too plainly diſcover his Intentions: For he could not ſuppoſe that the People of *England* would immediately give up their Liberties and Priviledges meerly becauſe he had a mind to be Abſolute. It was therefore neceſſary to lead them to it inſenſibly and by Degrees, and for that Purpoſe there was need of a Secret Council compoſed of very few Perſons, but entirely *The King eſtabliſhes a Council which is called the* Cabal.

1670. entirely devoted to him, and concerned equally with him in the ſucceſs of his Scheme. The ordinary Council conſiſting of Twenty-one Perſons, was by no Means proper to conduct this Affair; for beſides that ſome Counſellors had a right to their Places, as for Inſtance the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; it was too difficult to engage ſo many Perſons of the firſt Rank in ſuch a Plot upon their Country. To effect therefore this Undertaking with the more Caution, the King eſtabliſhed a Cabinet-Council of Five Perſons only, *viz.*

Clifford,
Arlington,
Buckingham,
Aſhley,
Lauderdale.

As the Initial Letters of theſe Five Names compoſed the Word CABAL, this ſecret Council was from thence called *the Cabal*. But before I proceed to the Reſolution taken by this Council, it will be neceſſary to give a brief Character of the Members.

Characters of the Counſellors. Clifford.

Sir *Thomas Clifford*, according to Father *Orleans*, only wanted a Stage, where found Reaſon and Virtue were more in Requeſt than they were then in *England*, to appear Superiour to the others. He was a declared *Papiſt*, and known for ſuch; ſo that he took no Pains to diſguiſe his Religion. He it was who, after the *Tripple-Alliance* was concluded, ſaid---*Notwithſtanding all this Noiſe, we muſt yet have another War with* Holland. As the Event juſtified his Prediction, there is great likelihood that the Scheme I have juſt mentioned, was then formed, and that he was in the Secret.

Earl of Arlington.

Henry Bennet Earl of *Arlington*, Secretary of State, paſſed for a Man of a leſs Genius than any of the other Four; but this was well ſupplied by his great Experience, and Inſight into foreign Affairs. It is pretended that being one of the King's Retinue in his

Journey to *Fontarabia* in the Year 1659, he was the principal Inſtrument to induce him to a Change of his Religion; however that be, he was truly a *Catholick*, though, with the King, he outwardly made Profeſſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion. This is a Truth which is now univerſally owned. 1670.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the King's Favourite, had a great deal of Wit. He might have made an able Miniſter of State, would his ſtrong Paſſion for Pleaſures and all ſorts of Debauches have allowed him any Application to Affairs. But nothing could tempt him to quit a diſſolute Life, to which he had accuſtomed himſelf from his Youth. He gloried beſides in having no Religion, and was reckoned a downright *Atheiſt*. Such a Favourite reflected no great Honour on the King *. *Duke of* Buckingham.

Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, created two Years afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*, was one of the greateſt *Genius*'s that *England* had beheld of a long Time. This is the Teſtimony given him both by Friends and Enemies. Father *Orleans* gives the following Character of him,—"He was the moſt capable of "the Five to manage any important Enterprize, "and was the Soul of this I am now ſpeaking of. "He had a vaſt Genius; was penetrating, daring, "and equally firm to his Purpoſe whether right or "wrong; a conſtant Friend, but an implacable E- "nemy, and ſo much the more dangerous in his "Enmity, as being void of all Religion and Con- "ſcience, Plots coſt him nothing, being neither de- "terred by the Number or Enormity of his Crimes "when he judged them neceſſary to preſerve him- "ſelf in Power, or deſtroy thoſe who had unhap- "pily incurred his Hatred." By the way, I obſerve here that this Character of the Earl of *Shafts-* *Earl of* Shaftsbury.

bury

* *Burnet* ſays farther of him, That he had the Art of turning Perſons and Things into Ridicule beyond any Man of his Age: He poſſeſſed the King when Abroad with very ill Principles, both as to Religion and Morality, and with a very mean Opinion of his Father King *Charles* I, whoſe Stiffneſs was with him a frequent Subject of Raillery, *p.* 52.

1670. *bury* is not founded upon what he had done before his admiſſion into the Cabinet-Council, but upon what he did afterwards. For leaving the King's Party for that of the People and Parliament, the *Royaliſts* aſcribed to his ſingle Intrigues all the Troubles which afterwards happened. Mr. *Lock* ſpeaks otherwiſe of him: It is true indeed that he ſays nothing advantagious of him in reſpect of Religion. But however this be, if his Character is ſuch as it is given by Father *Orleans*, it is eaſy to ſee what Sort of Men the King wanted for the Execution of his Deſigns *.

Duke of Lauderdale. The Duke of *Lauderdale* was the moſt proper of all the Five to ſerve the King in this Affair. In order to acquaint the Reader with the Character of a Man who had ſo great a Share in the Affairs of *England* and *Scotland* in this Reign, I ſhall lay before him the Characters given of him by Father *Orleans*, Mr. *Echard*, and Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury*.

The firſt contents himſelf with ſaying that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State in *Scotland*, was a ſubtle Man, and a very able Politician.

Mr. *Echard* ſays of the Duke---- "The Enlarging of the King's Power, and Grandour in this "Kingdom, was much owing to the Management "of the preſent Commiſſioner *Lauderdale*, who had "formerly been as much for depreſſing, as he was "now

* *Burnet* ſays of him, That as to Religion he was a *Deiſt* at beſt: He had a wonderful Faculty in ſpeaking to a popular Aſſembly, and a particular Talent to make others truſt to his Judgement. He had the Art of governing Parties, and making himſelf Head of them. He was good at oppoſing and running Things down, but had not the like Force in building up. He had a general Knowledge of the ſlighter Parts of Learning, but underſtood little to the Bottom. He pretended *Oliver Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great uſe to him in withſtanding the *Enthuſiaſts* of that Time. His Strength lay in the Knowledge of *England*, and of all the conſiderable Men in it. He knew the Size of their Underſtandings and their Tempers, and how to apply himſelf dexterouſly to them. He often changed Sides, and gloried in doing it at the propereſt Seaſon But his Reputation was at laſt ſo low, that he dyed in good Time for his Family and Party, p. 57.

" now for exalting the Prerogative. From the 1670.
" Time of his Commiſſion the *Scots* are ſaid to cal-
" culate the Date of all the enſuing Inconveniences
" in this and the following Reign. For having there
" undertaken to make the King's Power abſolute
" and arbitrary, he ſtrained the Royal Prerogative
" to all kinds of Exceſſes; and aſſumed to himſelf
" a ſort of lawleſs Adminiſtration of Affairs, the
" Exerciſe of which was ſuppoſed to be granted to
" him upon the large Promiſes he had made: And
" more apprehending other Men's officious interfe-
" ring than diſtruſting his own Abilities, he, in
" time, took Care to make himſelf his Majeſty's
" ſole Informer, as well as his ſole Secretary, and
" by that Means, not only upon Pretence of the
" King's Prerogative, the Affairs of *Scotland* were
" diſpoſed of in the Court of *England*, without any
" Notice taken of the King's Council in *Scotland*;
" but ſtrict Obſervation was alſo made of all *Scotch*-
" Men that came to the *Engliſh* Court; and to at-
" tempt an Addreſs and Acceſs to his Majeſty other-
" wiſe than by *Lauderdale*'s Mediation, was to hazard
" his perpetual Reſentment. By theſe ways he gradu-
" ally made himſelf the almoſt only ſignificant Perſon
" of the whole *Scottiſh* Nation; and in *Scotland* it-
" ſelf, procured to himſelf that ſovereign Authori-
" ty, as to name the Privy-Counſellors, to place
" and remove the Lords of *the Seſſion* and *Exchequer*,
" to grant Gifts and Penſions, to levy and disband
" Forces, to appoint General Officers, and to tranſ-
" act all Matters of Importance."

This lets us ſee with a Witneſs the Satisfaction which the King had in the abſolute Power carried on in his Name in *Scotland*, and conſequently that he would have been glad to have enjoyed the like in *England*.

If I ſhould tranſcribe every Thing ſaid of the Duke of *Lauderdale* by Dr. *Burnet*, I ſhould fear to be too tedious in ſaying ſo much of one Man, and therefore ſhall content my ſelf with pitching upon

1670. one of those Places where he is best drawn to the Life—— "The Duke of *Lauderdale* made a very "ill Appearance: He was very big: His Hair red, "hanging oddly about him: His Tongue was too "big for his Mouth, which made him bedew all "that he talked to *: And his whole Manner "was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a "Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, "in which he was a Master, but in *Greek* and *He-* "*brew*. He had read a great deal of *Divinity*, and "almost all the Historians antient and modern; "so that he had great Materials. He had with "these an extraordinary Memory, and a copious "but unpolished Expression. He was a Man, as "the Duke of *Buckingham* called him to me, of a "*blundering* Understanding. He was haughty be-"yond Expression, abject to those he saw he must "stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a "Violence of Passion, that carried him often to Fits "like Madness, in which he had no Temper; if he "took a Thing wrong, it was a vain Thing to "study to convince him: That would rather pro-"voke him to swear he would never be of another "Mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he "would have forgot what he had said, and come a-"bout of his own Accord. He was the coldest "Friend, and the violentest Enemy I ever knew: "I felt too much not to know it. He at first seem-"ed to despise Wealth; but he delivered himself "up afterwards to Luxury and Sensuality: And, by "that Means, he ran into a vast Expence, and "stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. "In his long Imprisonment he had great Impressi-"ons of Religion on his Mind: But he wore these "out so entirely, that scarce any Trace of them was "left.

* The Bishop is justly blamed for this Part of that Nobleman's Character: His red Hair, his big Tongue, were personal Defects which had nothing to do with his Character as a Statesman, nor with the History itself, as his publick Actions, not his private Life, were the Subject of it.

"left. His great Experience in Affairs, his ready "Compliance with every Thing that he thought "would pleaſe the King, and his bold offering at "the moſt deſperate Counſels, gained him ſuch an "Intereſt in the King, that no Attempt againſt him, "nor Complaint of him could ever ſhake it, till a "Decay of Strength and Underſtanding forced him "to let go his Hold. He was in his Principles much "againſt *Popery* and Arbitrary Government: And "yet by a fatal Train of Paſſions and Intereſts he "made way for the former, and had almoſt eſta-"bliſhed the latter. And whereas ſome, by a "ſmooth Deportment made the firſt Beginnings of "Tyranny leſs diſcernable and unacceptable, he, by "the Fury of his Behaviour, heightened the Severi-"ty of his Miniſtry, which was liker the Cruelty of "an Inquiſition, than the Legality of Juſtice. With "all this he was a *Presbyterian*, and retained his A-"verſion to King *Charles* I, and his Party, to his "Death." 1670.

If to theſe Five Members of the *Cabal* are joined, as in Reaſon they ought, the King and the Duke of *York*, it will be found that all the Seven were for an abſolute and arbitrary Government; and that with regard to Religion, Four of the Seven were *Papiſts*; namely, the King, the Duke, *Arlington* and *Clifford*, and Three without any Religion, or at leaſt they conſidered it only as an Engine of State, and theſe were *Buckingham*, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*.

Deſigns of the Cabal.

It would have been difficult to come at the Tranſactions of the *Cabal*, if Father *Orleans* had not, from the Mouth of King *James* II, let us know that a War with *Holland* was reſolved on, in order to furniſh the King with a Pretence to keep on Foot both Land and Sea-Forces. For it is manifeſt that ſuch a Deſign could not be accompliſhed, but either by Force or Fear. The Ground of this War was to be taken from the Diſpute about the *Flag*, which might with eaſe be renewed, and from the general Complaints of the *Engliſh* Merchants concerning their Com-

1670. Commerce, which had been made use of with so good Success in the late War. "*But*, adds Father "*Orleans*, *The true Reason of making this War upon* "Holland, *was the secret Negotiations carried on by* "*the Republicans of* England *with the* Dutch, *who* "*were incessantly inciting them to Rebellion, and to* "*shake off the Yoke of Monarchy, with assurance of* "*Assistance if they would begin the Attempt.*"---This seems to contradict what that Author had advanced a few Lines before, namely, that the true Ground of this War was to furnish the King with a Pretext for raising an Army. The Contradiction nevertheless disappears, when it is considered that the King and the *Cabal* had two Views which went Hand in Hand, and formed properly but one Design. This was to introduce an arbitrary Government, and to extirpate the *Protestant* Religion. As it could not be expected that the *English* would tamely give up their Religion and Liberty without any Resistance, it was natural to begin with depriving them of the only Assistance they had to depend upon, by falling upon the *Dutch*, and rendring them incapable to succour *England*. The *English Republicans* therefore, as they are called by Father *Orleans*, were no other than those who, it was supposed, would withstand the King's Designs, whether *Episcoparians* or *Presbyterians*, or the *Republicans* properly so called. It is therefore clear, that the true Reason of making War upon the *States*, was as much the putting it out of their Power to be assisting to the *English*, as to have a Pretence for raising Forces; and that this was but one and the same Reason.

The King makes a secret Alliance with France.

Some Time before, Mr. *Colbert de Croissy*, the *French* Ambassador at *London*, having sounded the King and his Ministers concerning the making a strict Alliance with his Master, found them very ready to come into his Measures, especially when he had acquainted them that the Meaning of the Alliance was only to humble the Pride of the *States-General*. Indeed nothing could more promote their Design, than

than the Concurrence of *France* to crush the hated and formidable Power of the *Dutch*, who alone were capable of assisting the *English*. Some pretend, that the King upon the first Motion signed a secret Treaty with *France*; but if this were so, this Treaty, in all appearance, was only in general Terms, which demanded more particular Explications. However this be, the King of *France*, to finish an Affair so happily begun, repaired to *Dunkirk* on Pretence of visiting the *Risbank* which was then raising; and carrying with him the Dutchess of *Orleans* his Sister-in-Law, she took occasion from the Neighbourhood of *England* to demand Leave to visit her Brother, which was readily granted, as the Affair had been concerted before. She was met by the King at *Dover*, where she arrived the 15th of *May*, and stayed there above a Fortnight amidst continual Pleasures and Diversions. But the Commission she was charged with was executed, notwithstanding the Variety of the Entertainments. This Commission, as is pretended, was to assure the King her Brother, from his most Christian Majesty, of Force sufficient to free him from the Tyranny of the Parliament, render him absolute in his Kingdoms, and introduce *Popery*, as soon as the *States* should be sufficiently humbled. Though the Conferences between the King and his Sister were managed with great Secrecy, yet the Events which followed upon them, discovered clearly their Intention. And Abbot *Primi* and Father *Orleans* have made no Scruple to own it, excepting that Part concerning Religion, which *Popish* Authors, and some others have made Difficulty of owning for fear of justifying the Suspicions of the Parliament afterwards, and the Measures they would have taken to preserve Religion from utter Destruction. 1670.

The Dutchess of Orleans *comes into* England.

Manages an Alliance between the Kings of England *and* France.

An Accident which happened shortly after might have broke the good Understanding between the Courts of *France* and *England*. The 19th of *June*, the Dutchess of *Orleans* in perfect Health, called, according to Custom, for a Glass of *Succory*-Water

Death of the Dutchess of Orleans.

at

1670. at Four in the Afternoon. She had no sooner drank it, but she found herself Ill, and her Distemper encreasing, she dyed about Two in the Morning. No Body doubted of her being poisoned, but the Author of her Death is not so unanimously agreed on, though the Duke of *Orleans* her Husband was by many secretly accused. The first Person who brought the melancholly News of her Death to the King was Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, who told him plainly what Opinion the *French* in general had of the Suddenness of her Death, and added, that though he was in the Chamber of the deceased at Six the same Morning, the Stench of the Corps was so strong, that he could hardly bear the Room. The King could not help falling into Tears on the melancholly Occasion, and reproaching in the first Sallies of his Passion the Duke of *Orleans* in Language not common to Princes. But a Moment after, addressing himself to Sir *Thomas Armstrong*---*Prithy, Tom*, said he, *do not speak of it.* Shortly after arrived the Marquess of *Bellefonds* with the News, and to pay the Compliment of Condolence from the *French* King. He gave an Account of the Dutchess's Death, in the most proper manner to remove all Suspicion.

The Duke of Buckingham *sent into* France *to conclude a Treaty with that King.*

The King was soon comforted for her Loss, and not thinking that this Death, uncommon as it was, was worth the breaking, or even retarding, the Measures entered into with the Court of *France*, he dispatched the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, to conclude and sign the Treaty already agreed on. The Pretence with which the Duke of *Buckingham* covered his Journey was his Desire, as he said, to see *France*, and learn the Language.

The Duke of Lorrain *dispossessed of his Dutchy by the* French, *vainly applies for Relief to King* Charles.

In *September Lewis* XIV made an Irruption into *Lorrain* by his General *Marshal de Crequi.* The Duke, who was taken unawares, was obliged to fly, and leave his Dutchy a Prey to the *Marshal*, who took Possession of it in the Name of his Master. The Duke vainly hoped for the Intercession of *Charles* to the King of *France*, in return for so much Money

len

lent and given him in his Exile, and for the Offer of his Forces for his Reſtoration. His Envoy was anſwered ----- *That the King was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent Violence like the Miſchiefs of a ſudden Inundation muſt be endured at this time.* 1670.

Proclamation againſt the old Parliament Officers.

The Parliament being to meet the 24th of *October*, the King a few Days before iſſued out a Proclamation, commanding all Officers and Soldiers ſerving in any of the Armies of the late uſurped Powers, not having a conſtant Habitation, to depart out of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and not to return again or come within Twenty Miles, till after the 10th Day of *December* next, and in the mean time to carry no Sword, Piſtol, or any other Arms. This was to let the Houſes ſee the Care which he took of their Preſervation.

The Parliament met, and the King after a few Words to both Houſes, left it to the Lord-Keeper to explain to them his Intentions. In all probability he durſt not with his own Mouth declare things ſo oppoſite to his Deſigns, and which aimed only to draw the Parliament into his Snares. He choſe rather to have this done by the *Keeper*, who being not in the Secrets of the *Cabal*, might ſpeak with greater Aſſurance, as he was perſuaded of the Truth of what he ſpoke. He repreſented therefore in his Speech -----

The Keeper's Speech to the Parliament.

" That *France* and the *States-General* are powerfully " arming by Land and Sea; are building new Ships, " and filling their Magazines with all ſorts of warlike " Proviſions. That ſince the Beginning of the laſt " War with *Holland*, *France* has ſo increaſed the " Number of her Ships, that her Strength by Sea is " thrice as much as it was before; and ſince the " End of it, *Holland* has been very diligent alſo in " augmenting her Fleets. That in ſuch a Juncture " common Prudence requires that his Majeſty ſhould " make ſome ſuitable Preparations: That he has " therefore given Order for the fitting out Fifty Sail " of the greateſt Ships againſt the Spring, be-

1670. "ſides thoſe which are to be for the Security of the "Merchants in the *Mediterranean*, as foreſeeing, if "he ſhould not have a conſiderable Fleet, *Tempta-* "*tion* might be given to thoſe who ſeem not now to "intend it, to give us an *Affront*, if not to do us "*Miſchief*". To this he added, "That his Ma- "jeſty, by the *Leagues* he hath made for the Good of "his Kingdoms, is obliged to a certain Number of "Forces in caſe of *Infraction* thereof; as alſo for the "Aſſiſtance of ſome of his Neighbours, in caſe of "*Invaſion*. And his Majeſty would be in a very ill "Condition to perform his Part of the Leagues, if, "while the Clouds were gathering ſo thick about "him, he ſhould, in hopes that the Wind would "diſperſe them, omit to provide againſt the Storm". He then told them, "That his Majeſty has made "ſeveral Leagues, as the *Tripple-Alliance*, another "with the *States-General*, another with the Duke of "*Savoy*, another with the King of *Denmark*, ano- "ther with the King of *Spain*; not to mention the "*Leagues* formerly made with *Sweden* and *Portu-* "*gal*, nor thoſe Treaties now depending between his "Majeſty and *France*, or between him and the "*States-General* touching Commerce; wherein his "Majeſty will have a ſingle Regard to the *Honour* "of this Nation, and alſo to the *Trade* of it, *which* "*never was greater than now it is*". He added, "That his Majeſty finds by his Accounts from the "Year 1660 to the late War, the ordinary Charge "of the Fleet *Communibus Annis*, came to about Five "Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year. If that par- "ticular alone takes up ſo much, the Revenue will "in no degree ſuffice to take off the Debts due up- "on Intereſt, much leſs give him a Fund for ſetting "out this Fleet, which by common Eſtimation can- "not coſt leſs than Eight Hundred Thouſand "Pounds"----- He then intimated to them, "That "his Majeſty intended they ſhould break up at *Chriſtmas*,

"*Chriſtmas*, and therefore he prayed them that all "things might be ready againſt that time." * 1670.

The Commons vote the King a large Supply,

The Houſe of *Commons* charmed with all theſe great Alliances made for the Honour and Advantage of the Nation, prepared immediately three *Bills*, one to raiſe Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds by way of Subſidies; another to lay an additional Exciſe upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors for ſix Years; a Third for laying Impoſitions upon *Proceedings at Law* for Nine Years. Theſe Three *Bills* would produce to the King Two Millions Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. But before one *Bill* was gone through with, the King adjourned the Parliament till about the End of *January*.

and are adjourned.

The Prince of Orange *in* England.

The Prince of *Orange* came to *London* about the Cloſe of the Year 1669 *1, to pay a Viſit to the King his Uncle. The principal Reaſon of his Journey was to demand of the King the Repayment of Money lent him by the Prince his Father in the Time of his Exile. He was graciouſly received, and after a Stay of about three Months he returned into *Holland*.

Sir William Temple *recalled.*

Before his Arrival, Sir *William Temple* had been recalled from his Embaſſy in *Holland*. He was not a proper Tool to be employed in the Deſigns of the *Cabal*. Beſides the Court was inclined to a ſpeedy Rupture with the *Dutch*. *2

The

* This Speech was thought fit to be ſuppreſſed, nor is it in the Journals of the Houſe of *Commons*.

*1 He arrived the 29th of *October* 1669, and took his leave the 15th of *February* following.

*2 The moſt remarkable Perſon who died this Year was *Vavaſor Powell*, who made a Figure amongſt the Diſſenters, and yet left it a Difficulty, never cleared up, what Religion he was of. He has been thought an *Anabaptiſt* by ſome, by others a *Millenary* and *Fifth Monarchy Man*; but was neither *Presbyterian* nor *Independent*. He preached with great Vehemency in the Woods, Mountains, Fields, Markets and Fairs of *Wales* his native Country. He was a bold Man, and an irreconcileable Enemy to Monarchy and Epiſcopacy. He had oppoſed all the higher Powers as they

1670-1. *Sir* John Coventry's *barbarous Usage gives occasion to a new Act of Parliament.*

The Parliament meeting towards the latter End of *January* after a short Recess, the *Commons* began with preparing a *Bill* which made it Death for any Man *maliciously to disable or dismember another, to put out an Eye, to cut off a Nose or Lip*, &c*. This was owing to an Attempt made upon Sir *John Coventry*, a Member of the *Commons*, in the Street, in which his Nose was slit. This had been done by the King's Order, who had committed the Execution of it to the Duke of *Monmouth* his natural Son, and the Duke had employed some other Persons, who, after the Deed was done, retired to his House *1.

The 14th of *February* the King sent a Message to the House of *Commons* to hasten the Money-Bills. But the House thought it proper, before the Offer of these

came uppermost; had been imprisoned by several of them, and dying a Prisoner in the *Fleet*, but unconquered in his Mind, he was buried in *Bunhill* Fields in the Presence of innumerable Dissenters.

Henry Jenkins deserves to be remembred on account of his extreme Age. He was a poor Fisherman of *Yorkshire*, born in 1501, and living in the Reigns of Eight Kings and Queens of *England*, died this Year aged 169 Years, exceeding the famous *Thomas Parr*, who dyed 1635, full Seventeen Years.

* This was afterwards called *Coventry's Act*, from the Name of the Person that was the Occasion of it.

*1 The Persons that committed this Fact were Sir *Thomas Sandys*, *Charles Obrian* Esq; *Simon Parry*, and *Miles Reeves*, who all fled from Justice. The Reason of his Usage it seems was this. He was an Opposer of the *Money-Bills*, and when passed, moved the laying a Tax on the *Play-Houses*, which were become Nests of Prostitution. This was opposed by the Court: It was said, the Players were the King's Servants, and a Part of his Pleasure. *Coventry* asked, Whether did the King's Pleasure lie among the *Men* or *Women Players*? This was carried with great Indignation to Court. It was said, this was the first time the King was personally reflected on, if it was passed over, more of the same kind would follow. Whereupon the forementioned Persons were sent to watch for Sir *John*, and leave a Mark upon him. He defended himself so well, that he got more Credit by it than by all the Actions of his Life. His Nose was so nicely needled up, that the Scar was hardly to be discovered. The *Commons* put a Clause in the *Bill*, that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon the Persons concerned.

theſe Bills to the King, to preſent him with an Addreſs touching the Growth of *Popery*, and the Concurrence of the Lords was obtained. As this Addreſs may help to illuſtrate the Hiſtory of this Reign, there is ſome Neceſſity to inſert it here at length. 1670-1.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

We your Majeſty's moſt humble and loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this preſent Parliament, being ſenſible of your Majeſty's Conſtancy to the Proteſtant *Religion, both at home and abroad, hold our ſelves bound in Conſcience and Duty to repreſent to your Majeſty the Cauſes of the dangerous Growth of* Popery *in your Majeſty's Dominions, the ill Conſequence whereof we heartily deſire may be prevented. And therefore what we humbly conceive to be ſome preſent Remedies for the ſaid growing Miſchiefs, we have hereunto added in our moſt humble Petitions.* *The Addreſs of both Houſes againſt Popery.* Echard, p. 870.

Cauſes of the Growth of Popery.

" 1. THAT there are great Numbers of Prieſts " and Jeſuits frequenting the Cities of *Lon-* " *don* and *Weſtminſter*, and moſt of the Counties of " this Kingdom, more than formerly, ſeducing your " Majeſty's good Subjects.

" 2. That there are ſeveral *Chapels*, and Places " uſed for *ſaying of Maſs* in the great Towns, and " many other Parts of the Kingdom, beſides thoſe in " Ambaſſadors Houſes, whether great Numbers of " your Majeſty's Subjects conſtantly reſort and re- " pair without Comptrol; and eſpecially in the Cities " of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, contrary to the Laws " eſtabliſhed.

1670-1. "3. That there are *Fraternities* or *Convents* of "*English* Popish Priests and Jesuits at St. *James*'s, "and at the *Combe* in *Herefordshire*, and other Parts "of the Kingdom; besides several *Schools* are kept "in divers Parts of the Kingdom for the corrupt "educating of Youth in the Principles of Popery.

"4. The common and publick Selling of *Popish* "*Catechisms*, and other seditious Books, even in the "Time of Parliament.

"5. The general Remissness of the Magistrates "and other Officers, Clerks of the Assize, and "Clerks of the Peace, in not convicting of Papists "according to Law.

"6. That suspected Recusants are free from all "Offices chargeable and troublesome, and do enjoy "the Advantage of Offices and Places beneficial; "executed either by themselves, or Persons entrusted "for them.

"7. That the Advowsance of Churches, and Pre-"sentations to Livings are disposed of by Popish "Recusants, or by others entrusted by them as "they direct; whereby most of those Livings and "Benefices are filled with scandalous and unfit "Ministers.

"8. That many Persons take the Liberty to send "their Children beyond the Seas to be educated in "the *Popish* Religion; and that several young Per-"sons are sent beyond the Seas, upon the Notion of "their better Education, under Tutors and Guardi-"ans who are not put to take the Oaths of *Allegi-*"*ance* and *Supremacy*, and usually corrupt the Youth "under their Tuition into Popery.

"9. That there have been few *Exchequer* Proceses "issued forth since the Act of Parliament *against* "*Popish Recusants convict*, though many have been "certified thither.

"10. The great Insolences of Papists in *Ireland* "(where do publickly appear Archbishops and Bi-"shops reputed to be made so by the Pope, in Op-"position to those made under his Majesty's Autho-

"rity,

" rity, according to the Religion eſtabliſhed in *Eng-* 1670 1.
" *land* and *Ireland*) and the open Exerciſe of Maſs
" in *Dublin*, and other Parts of that Kingdom, is
" further a great *Cauſe* of the preſent Growth of
" Popery. That *Peter Talbot*, the reputed Arch-
" biſhop of *Dublin*, was publickly conſecrated ſo at
" *Antwerp* with great Solemnity; from whence he
" came to *London*, where he exerciſed his Function;
" and was all along in his Journey to *Cheſter*, treated
" with the Character of his *Grace* by the Popiſh Re-
" cuſants whom he viſited: And at his Landing at
" *Dublin*, was received with great Solemnity by
" thoſe of the Popiſh Religion there, where alſo he
" exerciſed his Function publickly, great Multitudes
" then flocking to him, and ſtill continue to do the
" ſame. His preſent Reſidence is within three Miles
" of *Dublin*, at his Brother's Colonel *Richard Talbot*,
" who is now here ſoliciting your Majeſty as publick
" Agent on the Behalf of the *Iriſh* Papiſts of that
" Kingdom."

Remedies againſt theſe growing Miſchiefs.

We the Lords and Commons aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, do in all Humility repreſent to your Sacred Majeſty in theſe our Petitions following:

" 1. THAT your Majeſty by your Proclama-
" tion would be moſt graciouſly pleaſed to
" command, that all Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits do
" depart this Realm, and all other your Majeſty's
" Dominions, on or before a ſhort Day to be pre-
" fixed, at their Perils; except only ſuch foreign
" Prieſts as attend her Majeſty's Perſon by the Con-
" tract of Marriage, and Ambaſſadors according to
" the Law of Nations: And that all Judges, *&c.* do
" cauſe the Laws now in Force againſt *Popiſh* Recu-

1670-1. " ſants convict, to be put in due Execution: And in " the firſt Place, for the ſpeedy convicting ſuch *Po-* " *piſh* Recuſants, That all Judges and Juſtices afore- " ſaid do ſtrictly give the ſaid Laws in Charge unto " the Juries at all Aſſizes and Seſſions, under the " Penalty of incurring your Majeſty's higheſt Diſ- " pleaſure.

" 2. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to re- " ſtrain and hinder the great Concourſe of your na- " tive Subjects from hearing of *Maſs*, and other Ex- " erciſes of the *Romiſh* Religion, in the Houſes of " foreign Ambaſſadors or Agents, and in all other " Chapels and Places of this Kingdom.

" 3. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed, to take " care, and cauſe, *That no Office or Employment of* " *publick Authority, Truſt or Command in Civil or Mi-* " *litary Affairs, be committed to, or continued in the* " *Hand of any Perſon being a Popiſh Recuſant, or juſtly* " *reputed ſo to be.*

" 4. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to take " notice of all *Fraternities* or *Convents* of *Engliſh*, " and other *Popiſh* Prieſts, Jeſuits or Fryars, and " *Schools* for the educating of Youth in the Principles " of Popery, erected within your Majeſty's Domi- " nions, and to cauſe the ſame to be aboliſhed, and " the ſaid Prieſts, Jeſuits, Fryars, and Schoolmaſters " to be duly puniſhed for ſuch their Inſolences.

" 5. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed from " time to time to require and cauſe, That all the " Officers of, or relating to the *Exchequer*, iſſue " forth Proceſſes effectually againſt Popiſh Recu- " ſants convict certified thither. And that ſuch " Officers as ſhall refuſe or neglect to do their Duty " as aforeſaid, be ſeverely puniſhed for ſuch their " Failures.

" 6. That your Majeſty would be pleaſed to give " Order for apprehending and bringing over into " *England* one *Pluncket*, who goes under the Name " of the Primate of *Ireland*, and one *Peter Talbot*, " who takes on him the Name of *Archbiſhop* of " *Dublin*,

"*Dublin*, to anſwer ſuch Matters as ſhall be objected "againſt them". 1670-1.

The King replied to this Addreſs, that he would do what was required of him; but that he hoped no Perſon would wonder if he made a Difference between thoſe *Papiſts* that had newly changed their Religion, and thoſe that were bred up in it, and had faithfully ſerved him and his Father in the late Wars. A few Days after the King publiſhed a Proclamation, which ran much in the ſame Stile with thoſe that had been put out before on this Occaſion, and was no better obſerved. From the Beginning of the Reign of *James* I, to the Concluſion of that of *Charles* II, the ſame Method had always been practiſed. Theſe three Kings had never made any Scruple to anſwer the Inſtances of the Parliament to prevent the growth of *Popery*, with Aſſurances of complying with their Requeſt, and with publiſhing Proclamations for that purpoſe; but the Publication and the Execution were two Things. *The King's Anſwer.*

I ſhall obſerve by the way that in the Beginning of the Civil Wars *Charles* I, poſitively denyed that he had any *Papiſts* in his Service. But *Charles* II his Son in this Anſwer, not only owns it publickly, but even ſays, that in Conſideration of the great Services performed by the *Papiſts* to his Father and himſelf in the Civil Wars, he is obliged to give them Marks of his Favour. *A Reflection.*

This Affair being ended, the *Commons* went upon the three Money *Bills* before-mentioned; and as if theſe had not been ſufficient to ſupply the King's extreme Wants they afterwards added a fourth to lay an additional Duty upon ſeveral *Foreign Commodities*. Theſe *Bills* being ſent up to to the Lords, were debated in their Houſe. On the ſecond Reading of the *Subſidy-Bill*, the Lord *Lucas* roſe up, and in preſence of the King, who was then in the Houſe, (where he frequently came without any Formality) made a Speech which was very diſagreeable to his Majeſty. *Money Bills.*

I cannot

1670-1. I cannot think it neceſſary to inſert this Speech at length, but however ſhall give ſome Paſſages of it, to let the Reader ſee the Sentiments of Numbers, though few had the Boldneſs of the Lord *Lucas* to make an open Declaration of them.

The Lord Lucas's warm Speech concerning Subſidies. Feb. 22.

He firſt complained, "That whereas it was the "Hopes of all good Men that the King would pro- "cure Eaſe to his Subjects, their Burthens were "more heavy than ever, whilſt their Strength was "diminiſhed, and ſo they were leſs able to ſupport "them—that if the vaſt Sums given had been all "employed for the King and Kingdom, it would "not have ſo much troubled him and others: But "that the Nation could not without infinite Regret "of Heart ſee ſo great a part of the Money pound- "ed up in the Purſes of a few private Men, who in "the Time of his Majeſty's moſt happy Reſtoration "were worth little or nothing, but were now pur- "chaſing Lands, and kept their Coaches and ſix "Horſes, their Pages, and their Lacqueys; while "in the mean Time thoſe that had faithfully ſerved "the King were expoſed to Penury and Want, and "had ſcarce ſufficient left to buy them Bread. But "ſuppoſing all the Money given had been employ- "ed for the Uſe of his Majeſty, and that he was not "cozened, as without doubt he was, yet Ought there "to be no Bounds, no Moderation in giving? Will "it be ſaid, that his Majeſty will not be able to "maintain the *Tripple-Alliance* without a plentiful "Supply, and that the Nation will run the Hazard of "being conquered: This may be a Reaſon for giving "ſomething, but it is ſo far from being an Argu- "ment for giving ſo much, that it may be clearly "made out, *That it is the direct and ready way to be "conquered by a Foreigner.* And it may be the Poli- "cy of the *French* King, by his often Alarms of Ar- "mies and Fleets to induce us to conſume our Trea- "ſure in vain Preparations againſt him; and after he "has by this means made us poor and weak enough, "he may then come upon, and deſtroy us. Is is

"not

" not the giving a great deal, but the well managing 1670-1.
" the Money given that muſt keep us ſafe from our
" Enemies —— Beſides, what is this but *ne moriare*
" *mori*, to dye for fear of dying, and for fear of be-
" ing conquered by a Foreigner, to put ourſelves in
" a Condition almoſt as bad? Nay, in ſome Reſpects
" a great deal worſe: for when we are under the
" Power of the Victor, we know we can fall no
" lower, and the Certainties of our Miſeries are ſome
" ſort of Diminution of them: But in this wild way
" we have no Certainty at all; for if you give thus
" much to Day, you may give as much to Morrow,
" and never leave giving till we have given all that
" ever we have away —— It is therefore neceſſary to
" make ſome Eſtimate of our ſelves: Would his Ma-
" jeſty be pleaſed to have a Quarter of our Eſtates?
" For my Part he ſhall have it: Would he be plea-
" ſed to have Half? For my Part upon good Occa-
" ſions he ſhall have it: But then let us have ſome
" Aſſurances of the quiet Enjoyment of the Remain-
" der, and know what we have to truſt to. —— The
" *Commons* have here ſent up a *Bill* for the giving
" his Majeſty the Twentieth Part of our Eſtates,
" and I hear there are other *Bills* alſo preparing,
" which together will amount to little leſs than three
" Millions of Money, a prodigious Sum! And ſuch,
" that if your Lordſhips afford no Relief, we muſt
" ſink under the Weight of it. I hope therefore
" your Lordſhips will ſet ſome Bounds to the over-
" liberal Humour of the *Commons*. If you cannot
" *deny* or *moderate* a *Bill* for Money, all your great
" Eſtates are wholly at their Diſpoſal, and you have
" nothing that you can properly call your own ——
" Upon the whole Matter, I moſt humbly propoſe
" that you would be pleaſed to reduce the twelve
" Pence in the Pound to eight Pence."

This Speech, afterwards printed and publiſhed, was ſo offenſive to the King and his Miniſters, that it was ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. *Is burnt by the Hangman.*

1670-1. Hangman. But this did not prevent its making some Impression upon the Lords, who sent the *Bill* to the *Commons* with *Amendments*; that is to say, with some Alterations made in it. This occasioned a Dispute between the two Houses, the *Commons* refusing absolutely to receive the *Amendments*. But in a Conference the Difference was ended by the Acquiescence of the Lords to the Reasons of the *Commons*. The two first Money *Bills*, the additional Tax upon Beer, and other Liquors, being ready, the King came to the House of Lords the 6th of *March*, and passed these two Acts, with another to *invest the Power of granting Wine-Licences in his Majesty's Heirs and Successors, and for settling a Revenue on his Royal Highness in lieu thereof*, who received from this Privilege Twenty-four Thousand Pounds a Year.

Money-Bills passed.

Difference between the two Houses.

There were still behind two more Money *Bills*, which had been sent to the Lords, one for *Impositions on Proceedings at Law*, and another for *an additional Imposition upon several foreign Commodities*. The first Bill passed the House of Lords without any Difficulty. But the second occasioned a violent Contest between the two Houses. The *London* Merchants having presented a Petition to the Lords, in which they shewed the Disproportion of the *Rates* imposed upon certain Commodities to be such as would utterly ruin the whole Trade of these Commodities, and bring an irreparable Prejudice upon all the *English* Plantations, and consequently upon the Kingdom. This gave the Lords Room to think that they had a Right to make Alterations in the *Bill*, to lower some Rates, accordingly they sent the *Bill* to the *Commons* with several *Amendments*. The *Commons* maintained that the Lords had no right to make any *Amendments* in *Bills* of *Impositions* and *Rates*, and that they could only receive or reject them as they were sent, and the Lords asserted the contrary. This Dispute produced several Conferences, in which the two Houses mutually communicated their Reasons, Answers, and Replies. It would be too long to enter into the Discussion

sion of this Difference, which besides would be but little understood by those who have not a thorough Knowledge of the Constitution of *English* Parliaments. I shall therefore only relate one Particular of it, which is Intelligible to every Body, and wherein consisted, as it were, the Essence of the whole Dispute. The *Commons* maintained that by a *Fundamental Right*, it belonged to their House to impose *Rates* upon Merchandize. They understood by this *Fundamental Right*, the *Usage* and Custom of Parliament in the Time of *Charles* I. The Lords after the Example of *Charles* I, demanded of the *Commons*, Where was the *Record* or *Contract* to be found, by which the Lords divested themselves of this *Right*, and approriated it to the *Commons*, with an Exclusion to themselves? To this the *Commons* replied by another Question, Where was the *Record* by which the *Commons* submitted that *Judicature* should be appropriated to the Lords in Exclusion of themselves? Wherever their Lordships should find the last *Record*, they will shew the first endorsed upon the Back of the same Roll. In short, the King perceiving that the Contest daily grew warmer, came to the House of Peers, and after the Royal Assent given to an *Act* for laying Impositions upon *Proceedings at Law* and some others, he prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *April*, and afterwards by divers Prorogations to the 4th of *February* 1672-3. So that this Prorogation continued one Year and nine Months. 1670-1.

A long Prorogation of the Parliament.

In all probability every Reader will be surprized at the excessive Liberality of the *Commons* to the King, and especially at that of this Session. With regard to former Liberalities, it may be said, that they had some Foundation true or false. But this which exceeded all the rest was founded merely upon a Contingency which had not the least likelihood. For it wholly leant upon a Supposition that *France* and the *States-General*, who were making great Preparations, might fall upon *England*, if they found her unprovided for a Defence, though she was then in Peace with *France*,

Reflections upon the Liberality of the Commons.

1670-1. *France*, and in ſtrict Alliance with *Holland*. Beſides, the *States* had hitherto made no extraordinary Preparations, becauſe they had no Apprehenſion of being attacked. And as to *France*, the King well knew that he had nothing to fear from that Quarter. Nevertheleſs upon a bare Propoſition from him, ſupported by no manner of Probability, a Sum of two Millions and a half was granted him, which according to ſome even amounted to three Millions. Nothing is more proper to ſhow the Probability of what is aſſerted by ſo many Authors, that ſcarce one Member, however inconſiderable, was without a Penſion from the King, in Proportion to the Influence he had in the Houſe, and that theſe Penſions were increaſed according to the Sums granted to the King. Thus much is certain, that afterwards upon an Inquiry it was found that ſome however were guilty of this Prevarication.

Death of the Dutcheſs of York.

Before we proceed, we muſt not forget the Death of *Anne Hyde* Dutcheſs of *York*, Daughter to the Earl of *Clarendon*, the late Chancellor. She died the 31ſt of *March* in the 31ſt Year of her Age, after having abjured the *Proteſtant* Religion during the Time of her long Indiſpoſition. From her Marriage proceeded eight Children, two of which only ſurvived her; *Mary* and *Anne*, who were ſucceſſively Queens of *England*. The reſt all dyed in their Infancy *.

The Duke of York *formally abjures the Proteſtant-Religion.*

The Duke of *York* was a *Papiſt* before the King's Reſtoration, but I no where find at what Time he changed his Religion. The Thing was a Secret for ſome Time; but had now for ſome Years been ſo divulged, that it became the Publick Talk of the Court and Kingdom. At laſt, ſoon after the Death of his Dutcheſs, he made a formal Abjuration of the *Proteſtant*

* Their Names were, *Charles* born *October* 22, 1660. *Mary* *April* 30th, 1662. *James*, *July* 12, 1663. *Ann*, *February* 6th, 1664. *Charles*, *July* 4th, 1666. *Edgar*, *September* 14th, 1667. *Henrietta*, *January* 13th, 1668. And *Katharine*, *February* 9th, 1670. Three of the Sons and one Daughter died before their Mother, and *Edgar* and *Katharine* ſhortly after.

teſtant-Religion before Father *Simon* an *Engliſh* Jeſuit, and from that Time he declared himſelf a *Papiſt* openly. The Reaſon which, as it is ſaid, induced him to make this Publick Declaration of his Religion was this. The King had for ſome Years, even before the Chancellor's Diſgrace, entertained ſome ſecret Thoughts of putting away the Queen, for whom he never had any Affection. He had communicated this Deſign to ſome of his Confidents; but was always oppoſed in it by the Earl of *Clarendon*, whether from a Senſe of the Injuſtice of the Thing, or for the Sake of the Dutcheſs of *York* his Daughter, and her Poſterity. After the Removal of that Miniſter, the King finding himſelf more at Liberty, perſiſted in the Deſign of his Divorce; and, as is aſſured, was incouraged in it by the *Papiſts*, and had the Approbation of the Court of *Rome* it ſelf. For a Pretence to this Divorce, a Pre-engagement of the Queen's before her Marriage was to be made uſe of; but it was not ſaid with whom. It was likewiſe pretended that ſhe was incapable of having any Children, though ſhe had twice miſcarried. But as theſe Facts were of very difficult Proof, the King was aſſiſted with a Pretext more plauſible. This was to lay Snares for the poor Queen, ſo as to have her found alone in certain Places, and with certain Perſons, which might have afforded Grounds for an Accuſation of Adultery. But the King could not be prevailed with to make uſe of a Method ſo unjuſt in it ſelf, and ſo diſhonourable to him. Nevertheleſs the Thing was reſolved on, and as a Pretence was only wanted, they would not have failed to deviſe one capable of producing the deſired Effect. The *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* who were continually about the Duke of *York*, preſſed him for ſome Time paſt to make an open Profeſſion of the *Roman-Catholick*-Religion. But they had not yet been able to ſucceed, becauſe the Duke ſaw clearly that ſuch a Profeſſion would make him forfeit the Affection of the greateſt Part of the *Engliſh* Nation. At laſt, upon the Duke of *York*'s Refuſal, 1671.

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1671. they went roundly to work upon the Affair of the Divorce, and proceeded so far, that it is assured the Pope promised his Consent. When the Business was brought thus far, they gave the Duke of *York* to understand, that they were able either to effect or hinder the King's Divorce, and that they would undertake the latter on Condition he would make an open Profession of the *Catholick* Religion. This, as is pretended, engaged him to declare himself a *Papist*, being apprehensive that if the King should be divorced from his Queen, he might marry a second Time, and have Legitimate Children. I relate these Particulars as I found them in the Histories and Memoirs of these Times; but I must warn the Reader that those who have delivered them for Fact give no other Proof of them than their own naked Testimony *.

and makes an open Profession of the Popish.

Projects of the Cabal

After the Prorogation of the Parliament, the *Cabal* was with the greatest earnestness intent upon the Execution of their Projects. These were, first, to render the King *Absolute*, or in their Language, a *Great Prince*: Under which was comprized the Establishment of *Popery*, if not the entire Destruction of the *Protestant* Religion. For there is no visible Medium between these two Things.

I have already given the Reason why the Article of Religion is omitted by the Partizans of the King. The second Project was the breaking the *Tripple-Alliance*. The third a War with *Holland*, though it was difficult to invent any the least plausible Pretexts. To Execute the two last, Sir *Henry Coventry*, who had been Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of *Breda*, was dispatched to *Sweden*, and Sir *George Downing* to the *Hague*. I have taken Notice that *Temple* had been recalled; but to amuse the *States*, the King feigned

The King endeavours to amuse the States-General.

* *Burnet* says, the Duke of *Buckingham* offered that if the King would give him leave he would steal the Queen away, and send her to a Plantation where she should be well looked after. But the King himself rejected this Proposal with Horrour. *P.* 263.

feigned that he had only called *Temple* to Court to be informed of ſome Matters, and that he ſhould be immediately ſent back. He was notwithſtanding ſtill in *London*, and though the King had no thought to ſend him again to *Holland*, yet to take away all Suſpicion from the *Dutch* that he had any Intention of breaking with them, he had hitherto refuſed his Permiſſion to Sir *William* to ſend for his Wife and Family. At laſt, he was openly recalled, and obtained Leave for his Wife and Children to come over who were ſtill at the *Hague*. The recalling *Temple*, and ſending *Downing* in his Place was ſufficient to diſcover the King's Intentions without any open Declaration of them. The firſt was extremely beloved in *Holland*, as he had always behaved with Integrity, and with a Zeal for the common Intereſts of both Nations. The ſecond had been the Tool to engage the King and the *States* in the late War, and was looked upon in *Holland* as a Man void of all Honeſty, and a downright Incendiary. When therefore the *States* underſtood that he was coming to them in the room of *Temple*, they no longer doubted that a Rupture was intended by *England*. Mean while *Downing* being arrived at the *Hague*, was not wanting in Proteſtations that the King his Maſter was reſolved to maintain the *Tripple-Alliance*, and that if he was equipping a Fleet, it was wholly owing to the great Preparations making by his Neighbours, and particularly the King of *France*, of whom he had juſt Cauſe to be jealous. But withal, he failed not to complain of the Obſtinacy of the *Dutch*, upon an Affair of little Conſequence, concerning the Colony of *Surinam*; to this Complaint he threw in others from the *Engliſh* Merchants againſt the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company. Theſe were the two Articles on which the King intended to found a Rupture; but as he did not think them of Weight enough, he projected to draw the *States* into a Sort of Inſult on himſelf, which might give him a more plauſible Pretence for a War. 1670.

1671. *A Yacht belonging to the King fires at the* Dutch, *to engage them to strike the Flag.*

To this End, the King having granted Sir *William Temple* a Yacht to bring over his Lady, the Admiralty gave expreſs Orders to the Captain to go in queſt of the *Dutch* Fleet, then at Sea, and if they refuſed to ſtrike, to fire upon them. The Captain met with them as he was returning with the Ambaſſadreſs and her Children on board. When he ſaw that the Fleet paid no Regard to the King's Yacht, he fired ſeveral Shots at them. Mr. *de Ghent*, who commanded the Fleet, ſurprized at this mad Inſult, ſent a Boat to the Yacht to know the meaning of it. The Captain returned no other Anſwer than that he had his Inſtructions, and very well knew what he did. Upon this, Mr. *de Ghent* went to the Yacht on pretence of paying a Compliment to the Ambaſſadreſs, and after that was over, he talked with the Captain, and was anſwered as before. The Admiral replyed that he had no Orders from his Maſters in that Point, and did not know how the Affair was agreed between his Majeſty and the *States*; but though it were ſettled, the Captain could not pretend the Fleet ſhould ſtrike to a Yacht, which was but a Pleaſure-Boat. The Captain perſiſted in ſaying that he only followed his Orders. Nevertheleſs the Fleet fired not one ſingle Shot at the Yacht, and the Captain purſued his Courſe, pleaſed that he had come off ſo well.

The King receives Money from the King of France.

Beſides the Two Millions and a Half granted to the King by the Parliament, the King of *France*, if the Abbot *Primi* is to be credited, ſent him a very conſiderable Sum to enable him to put a Fleet to Sea, which ſhould be much ſuperiour to that of the *States*. Thus the King turned his whole Thoughts to War, though with all poſſible Artifice he endeavoured to remove all Suſpicion of his having any ſuch Deſign. He ſpent the whole Summer, and the greateſt Part of Autumn in viſiting divers Places of his Kingdom. The 28th of *May* he celebrated the Feaſt of St. *George* in a very ſolemn Manner, and inſtalled in the Order of the Garter the King of *Swe-*

An Inſtallation at Windſor.

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den, and the Elector of *Saxony* by their *Proxies*, and after them the young Duke of *Albemarle*. He visited likewise the University of *Cambridge*, where he was magnificently entertained, besides several other Places which it is needless to mention here. On his Return both their Majesties were invited to the Lord-Mayor's Feast, on the 30th of *October*, where no Cost was spared to display the Grandour and Riches of that proud City. 1671.

Before we proceed to the Transactions of the following Year, I think my self obliged to take Notice of an Attempt made in this, the most Extraordinary that ever entered into the Head of a private Man. I mean that of *Blood*, a famous Villain, Robber and Assassin, who formed the Design of stealing the Crown, Scepter and Globe, which were kept in the *Tower*. With the Assistance of two or three more he executed his Attempt so dextrously and happily, that they were already got out of the *Tower* with their Booty before they were stopped. To give some Account of *Blood*, I shall only say, that the Duke of *Ormond*, when he was Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having caused some of *Blood*'s Accomplices to be hanged, who intended to have seized the Castle of *Dublin*, he swore that he would revenge their Death. For this Purpose *Blood* followed the Duke of *Ormond* into *England*, when he was recalled from *Ireland*, and watched his Motions so well, that with the Assistance of Seven or Eight Persons on Horse-back, he stopped his Chariot in the Night as he was going to *Clarendon-House*, where he lodged, killed the Coachman and one of the Footmen *, and mounted the Duke on a Horse, with a Man behind him, with a Design to carry him to *Tybourn*, and hang him there with a Paper pinned on

Blood steals the Crown.

* This is a Mistake. Some of the Footmen were knocked down; the Coachman and other Servants crying out gave the Alarm, and by it saved the Duke's Life. Had any Murder been committed, neither the King's Intercession, nor the Duke's easiness to forgive, could have rescued the Villains from the Pursuit of Justice. *Echard*'s Hist. Vol. III. *p.* 262.

1671. his Breaſt, to ſignify the Cauſe of his Execution: But the Duke forcibly throwing himſelf off the Horſe with the Perſon behind him, defeated the Deſign, and the Authors could never be diſcovered till after *Blood*'s Attempt upon the Crown. This Attempt was very ſurprizing; but the King's Conduct on that Occaſion was ſtill more extraordinary. For having a Deſire to examine *Blood* himſelf, he ordered him to be brought to *Whitehall*, and put a great many Queſtions to him, which the Villain anſwered with ſurprizing Boldneſs, confeſſing all, and without any Concern delivered the Circumſtances of the thing. To the Queſtion put to him by the King if he knew the Authors of the Attempt upon the Duke of *Ormond*, he owned himſelf to be the Perſon. Not content with this, he told the King that he had been engaged in a Deſign to kill him with a Carbine from out the Reeds by the *Thames-ſide* above *Batterſea*, where he often went to ſwim. But that when he had taken his Stand in the Reeds for that Purpoſe, his Heart was checked with the Awe of Majeſty, and did not only relent himſelf, but diverted his Aſſociates from the Deſign. He told the King that he was prepared to ſuffer Death as he had deſerved: But that he could not help telling his Majeſty that he had ſome Hundreds of Accomplices who had bound themſelves by the moſt horrible Oaths to revenge the Death of any of the *Fraternity* upon thoſe who ſhould bring them to Juſtice; which would expoſe his Majeſty and all his Miniſters to the daily Fear and Expectation of a Maſſacre. But on the contrary, if he ſpared the Lives of a few Perſons, his own would be ſecure. The King was ſurprized, and probably intimidated by theſe Words of *Blood*, and thought, doubtleſs, that the Attempt of this Villain to revenge the Deaths of his Accomplices upon the Duke of *Ormond*, might very well be practiſed by thoſe of his ſurviving Comrades in revenge of his. However this be, the King ſent the Earl of *Arlington* to the Duke of *Ormond* to deſire him

Is examined by the King.

him not to prosecute *Blood*, which he could not refuse: Afterwards he gave him his Pardon, and not content with giving him his Life, he settled Five Hundred Pounds a Year in Land upon him in *Ireland*. From this Time *Blood* was continually at Court, and the King treated him with that freedom and familiarity, that many Persons applied to him for Favours from the King. This gave a Handle to the King's Enemies to say, That he entertained this Villain about his Person, to intimidate those who should dare to offend him in Things where publick Justice could not lay hold on them, as had been done in the Case of Sir *John Coventry*, for some Railleries upon him in the House of *Commons*. As for *Edwards*, who had done so much to preserve the Crown, who was Fourscore Years of Age, and had received so many Wounds, that he was left for Dead; the King contented himself with assigning him a Reward of Two Hundred Pounds, the Payment of which was so long delayed, that the poor Man dyed before he received it *. 1671. *and pardoned.*

In

* *Edwards* had a Grant of Two Hundred Pounds for himself, and one Hundred for his Son. Both, by the Delays of Payment were obliged to sell their Orders for half the Money, and the Old Man lived not long to enjoy the Remainder. The Manner of *Blood*'s stealing the Crown was thus: He goes to the *Tower* in a Clergyman's Habit, with a Woman whom he called his Wife, and who, he pretended, wanted to see the Crown; and having seen it, she feigned to be taken with a Qualm, and desired Mr. *Edwards* the Keeper of the Crown to send for some Spirits, who immediately caused his Wife to fetch some, of which she drank, and being invited to repose herself on a Bed, she did so, and soon recovered. At their Departure they were very thankful for this Civility. Three Days after *Blood* comes with a Present of Gloves from his Wife, and having thus begun an Acquaintance, he improves it by frequent Visits. At last he tells Mr. *Edwards* that he had a Mind to make a Match between a Nephew of his and Mr *Edwards*'s Daughter, which Nephew, he said, had 300 *l.* a Year. Accordingly a Day was appointed for the young Couple to see one another. *Blood* comes with Three more, one of whom stays at the Door, and the others go in. *Blood* told Mr. *Edwards* he would not go up Stairs till his Wife came down, and desired him in the mean Time to shew his Friends the Crown, to pass away

1671. In the Course of this Year dyed two famous Generals, distinguished by their Bravery and Experience in the Civil Wars. The first was the Lord *Fairfax* the Generalissimo, and the other *Edward Montague* Earl of *Manchester*. I shall say no more of them, than what I have done in the Reign of *Charles* I, excepting that both of them were very serviceable to the King in his Restoration.

Deaths of the Lord Fairfax *and Earl of* Manchester.

Designs against the Dutch.

The League against *Holland*, much like that at *Cambray* against the Common-wealth of *Venice*, was still kept so secret, that the *States* had nothing but a bare Suspicion, without any Certainty of it. The Design of the Allies was to begin with ruining their Affairs before any open Declaration of War, and then to fall upon them at one and the same Time in different Places. The King of *France*, the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, were to Attack them by Land, and the *English* and *French* Fleets were to join and fall upon them by Sea. This was the Project, but it met with one Difficulty which had not been foreseen. Though *Charles* had received Two Millions Five Hundred Thousand Pounds from the Parliament, and Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds from the King of *France*, he was still in Want. True indeed it is that he had applied one Part of the Money received to the Equipment of his Fleet, but that could not amount to half the Sum; and it was difficult to guess what was become of the rest. However, he signified to his Ministers

The King indigent.

the Time. As soon as they were in the Room, and the Door shut as usual, they immediately gagged the Old Man, and knocked him down for endeavouring to make a Noise. One of the Companions put the Globe in his Breeches, *Blood* kept the Crown under his Gown, and the Third was filing the Scepter (being too long to manage) when their Companion without gave them Notice that young Mr. *Edwards* was just come Home and gone up Stairs; upon which they all made off with the Crown and Globe. But Old *Edwards* getting up and making a Noise, they were pursued and taken, as they were making to their Horses, which waited at the *Iron-Gate* in St. *Katherines*. *Blood*, though he saw himself a Prisoner, had the Impudence to struggle for the Crown.

Miniſters that he could not begin the War without Fifteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds: But the Parliament being prorogued, he could not apply to them, and therefore he promiſed the Treaſurer's Staff to the Perſon who ſhould ſuggeſt the Means of raiſing that Sum. Sir *Thomas Clifford*'s Invention proved the moſt lucky. He went to the King and told him, that by ſhutting up the *Exchequer* he would eaſily raiſe that and a larger Sum. The King readily underſtood this Advice, and reſolving to make uſe of it, he made good his Promiſe, and advanced *Clifford* to the Poſt of Lord High-Treaſurer. Some however have aſcribed this Thought to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and ſaid that *Clifford* having artfully drawn it from him, challenged the Honour of it as he firſt communicated it to the King *. 1671.

Is adviſed to ſhut up the Exchequer.

To underſtand this Matter (which though plain to *Engliſh* Readers, is not ſo to Foreigners) it is to be noted, that into the *Exchequer* are paid, by Direction from the Lord-Treaſurer, all the Sums deſtined to publick Uſes, and the Intereſts of the Money borrowed upon Parliamentary Funds, which commonly cannot be raiſed under ſeveral Months or even Years.

The meaning of that Project.

* The Subſtance of the Story, as it is told by Mr. *Echard* from a Manuſcript of Sir *Joſeph Tyley*'s, is this —— The King under preſſing Neceſſities promiſed the *White-Staff* to any one of his Miniſters who could put him in a way to raiſe Fifteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds without applying to his Parliament. The next Day Lord *Aſhley* told Sir *Thomas Clifford*, That there was a Way to do this; but that it was dangerous, and might in its Conſequences inflame both Parliament and People. Sir *Thomas*, impatient to know the Secret, plied the Lord *Aſhley* with Viſits, and having drunk him to a proper Height, led him inſenſibly to the Subject of the King's Indigence; Lord *Aſhley*, warm and unguarded, dropt the important Secret of *ſhutting up the Exchequer*. Sir *Thomas* took the Hint, left *Aſhley* as ſoon as he could, went the ſame Night to *Whitehall*, and attending till the King roſe, demanded the *White Staff*. The King renewed his Promiſe if the Money could be found, and then Sir *Thomas* diſcloſed the Secret. The Project was put in Execution, and *Clifford* advanced to be Treaſurer, and created a Peer. *Aſhley* was touched, and ſaid, That *Clifford had ploughed with his Heifer*. However, to ſatisfy him, he was firſt made Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and ſoon after Lord-Chancellor of *England*. Vol. III. *p* 288.

1671. Therefore when the King would have the Money all at once that has been granted him, he borrows it of private Hands at a large Intereſt, and aſſigns the Payment upon the *Exchequer*, which applies this way the Money raiſed from the granted Funds, in Proportion as it comes in. Moreover, at the Time I am ſpeaking of, all the Monied-Men in *London*, not to keep too large Sums in their own Houſes, put their Money into the Hands of Bankers and Goldſmiths without Intereſt. And when they wanted any Part, they gave Notes upon their Goldſmiths or Bankers, which were immediately paid. Now as it was morally impoſſible that all the private Perſons who had Money thus lodged with a Banker or Goldſmith ſhould have Occaſion for it all at once, thoſe who had the Money in their Hands contented themſelves with keeping by them a Sum ſufficient to anſwer the uſual Demands, and lent the reſt to the King at a large Intereſt upon the Parliamentary Funds. So that in ſhutting up the *Exchequer*, he received all the Money which came into it, without paying one Farthing of what was brought in. But at the ſame time, the Perſons who had put their Money into the Hands of Bankers and Goldſmiths were entirely ruined, ſince it was not in their Power to diſpoſe of their Capital. And their Ruin was the more inevitable, as the *Bankers* refuſed even to pay any *Notes* drawn daily upon them, on Pretence that they received nothing out of the *Exchequer*. This cauſed an extreme Conſternation in *London*; but the King and his Miniſters purſued their own Meaſures, and deaf to the Complaints of ſo many ruined Families, kept the *Exchequer* ſhut up one Year, and then by a new Order ſome Months longer. But the waſting a Year or Eighteen Months was not the whole of this Misfortune. It is eaſy to imagine that the King having received all the Money which came into the *Exchequer* during this Time, the Sums which were brought in, when it was opened, were not ſufficient to diſcharge the Arrears of theſe Eighteen Months. This

The Exchequer ſhut up.

is

is the true State of the Affair, which opened the Mouths of the *Engliſh* againſt the King and the *Cabal*. But the Hopes which the *Cabal* then had to render the King abſolute, made them very eaſy under the Complaints and Reproaches of the People. 1671.

1671-2. *The King intends to ſurprize the* Smyrna *Fleet before he had declared War.*

But *Charles* had in his Head a Project which would furniſh him with ſtill more conſiderable Sums. This was to ſurprize the *Dutch* Fleet returning from *Smyrna* richly laden, before there was any Declaration of War. He had before tried the ſame Experiment on the *Bourdeaux* Fleet in the laſt War, and received a vaſt Advantage from it. The *Smyrna* Fleet was more rich, and inſpired him with anſwerable Expectations. To this end he put to Sea Thirty-Six Men of War under the Command of *Holms*, who had Orders to cruiſe in the Channel, and intercept this Fleet as it paſſed by. *Holms* being informed that the *Dutch* Fleet was near, divided his own into three Squadrons. That of *Holland* conſiſted of Seventy-Two Sail of Merchant-Ships, many of them without Guns, and under the Convoy of Five Men of War, commanded by experienced Officers. Theſe drew up the Merchant-men in three Squadrons in excellent Order, and put themſelves between them and the *Engliſh* Fleet, after Orders given to purſue their Courſe without breaking their Line. *Holms* attacked this Fleet the 13th of *March*, and fought the whole Day without gaining the leaſt Advantage. The next Day at Nine in the Morning the Fight was renewed, and laſted all that Day, though on the *Dutch* Side Captain *de Haes*, who acted as Admiral, had been killed about Twelve a Clock. On the Side of the *Engliſh* the Vice-Admiral's Ship was diſabled. The following Day, at Eight in the Morning, *Holms*, who had been reinforced by ſome Frigats, renewed the Engagement, and at laſt took one Man of War, the Captain and almoſt all the Sailors being ſlain; and Three * Merchant Ships which

But without Succeſs.

* Our Accounts ſay Four.

1671-2. which were brought into the *Thames*. This was all the Advantage the *English* received from an Action, which reflected no great Honour on the King. Care was taken at *London* to have this Engagement pass for the pure Effect of Chance, because the *Dutch* had refused to strike to the *English* Fleet. Though every Body talked pretty openly against so dishonourable an Action, the King, not at all moved by the Opinions of the Vulgar, and designing no Reparation for the Injury done to the *States*, in seizing their Ships before the War was declared, sent out a Squadron to meet Four *Dutch India*-Men, which were immediately taken and condemned. At the same Time he ordered all the *Dutch* Ships in his Ports to be seized, though by an express Stipulation in the Treaty of *Breda* it was provided that, even after the Declaration of War, a certain Time should be allowed to the Merchants to withdraw their Effects. The *States*, seduced by so ill an Example, likewise made a Seizure of the *English* Ships. But upon the strong Representation of some of the Deputies, how much the Honour of Princes and *States* was wounded by these Sorts of Depredations; and that the King of *England*, acting against the Faith of Treaties, ought not to incourage the *States* to imitate so blameable a Conduct, The *English* Ships were discharged and sent into *England*. The King could not then help releasing some of the *Dutch* Ships, but would not restore all.

Four India-Men taken.

1672. One of the Branches of the Project formed by *the Cabal* was, as I said, to render the King absolute, and this Branch comprehended under it the Extirpation of the *Protestant*, or at least the Introduction of the *Popish* Religion, though Father *Orleans*, and the Writers on the King's Side, when speaking of this Project, say nothing of this Point. Father *Orleans* however cannot help owning it in the Sequel of his History. I shall transcribe a Passage from him, which though extremely softned with relation to the Design, clearly shews that this was one of the Branches of the Project. After having spoke of what had passed with relation

relation to the *Papists* and other *Non-conformists*: He adds —— *The King, who was by no means a good Christian in his Actions, though a Catholick in his Heart, did all that could be expected from his natural Indolence to preserve the common Liberty, that the Catholicks might enjoy the Benefit of it. But the Church of* England *prevailed, and Chancellor* Hyde *so distinguished his Zeal upon this Occasion, that the King was obliged to yield rather to his Importunities than his Reasons. It was therefore the Re-establishment of this Liberty of Conscience that the Lord* Ashley *believed necessary to the Execution of the projected Design. He communicated his Thoughts to his Colleagues of the Cabal, who were of his Opinion, not only on account of the Reasons he alledged, which was, that by this means the Non-conformists would be gained, from whom so much was to be feared, but likewise on account of another, which was readily approved; namely, that by this means the Catholicks would be favoured, whom the greatest part of them loved, and the rest esteemed.* Arlington *and* Clifford *were secretly Catholicks, and both died in the Communion of the Church.* Buckingham *wanted nothing to further his Conversion, but to become a little more Master of himself with regard to his licentious way of Living and Thinking.* Ashley *was no Enemy to the Catholick Religion, till Interest and Malice warped and threw him into the contrary Party. The King's Consent was presumed on as he was a Catholick, and continued so to his Death, though Policy prevailed with him to pretend the contrary. The Duke of* York *supported the Design with all his Power. All the Difficulty lay in the Extent of this Liberty, and the two Kings of* France *and* England *acting in Concert, made this Affair a part of their Negotiation. Several Proposals were made for the Catholicks, some more some less advantagious.* France *was for Methods which were most moderate, safe, and suited to the Exigences of the Times. At last, it was agreed that* Charles *should grant Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects in general.*

1672. *An Extract from the History of Father* Orleans.

It

1672. It appears from this Paſſage that Religion was concerned in the Projects of *the Cabal*. But according to all appearance, ſome were for having the Progreſs of the *Popiſh* Religion made uſe of to render the King abſolute, and others were for having the King made abſolute to favour the Progreſs of *Popery*. This was the Reaſon that theſe two Articles were never ſeparated, nor indeed could be, ſince they had ſo entire a Dependence the one upon the other. The King made this evident in his Declaration publiſhed for *Liberty of Conſcience*, ſince he could not grant this Liberty without aſſuming a Power to abrogate *Acts* of Parliament, or at leaſt ſuſpend the Execution thereof ſo long as he pleaſed. This Declaration dated the 15th of *March* 1672, conſiſted of divers Articles, of which I ſhall here give the Subſtance:

Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

1. His Majeſty publiſhes it, *in virtue of his ſupreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, which is a Right inherent in his Perſon, and acknowledged by ſeveral *Acts* of Parliament.

2. He declares his expreſs Reſolution to be, that the Church of *England* be preſerved and remain entire in her Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Government, as naw it ſtands eſtabliſhed by Law.

3. That no Perſon ſhall be capable of holding any ſort of *Eccleſiaſtical* Benefice or Preferment of any kind, who is not exactly conformable.

4. That the Execution of all Penal Laws in Matters Eccleſiaſtical againſt whatſoever Sort of *Non-conformiſts* or *Recuſants*, be immediately ſuſpended.

5. He declares that he will from time to time allow ſuch a ſufficient Number of Places, as ſhall be deſired, in all Parts of his Kingdom, for ſuch as did not conform to the Church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in, in order to their publick Worſhip and Devotion.

6. That none of his Subjects do preſume to meet in any Place until ſuch Place be allowed, and the Teacher of that Congregation approved by him.

7. He declares that this Indulgence as to the Allowance of publick Places of Worſhip, and Approbation of Teachers, ſhall extend to all Sorts of *Nonconformiſts* and *Recuſants*, except the *Recuſants* of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, to whom he will no ways allow publick Places of Worſhip, but only indulge them their Share in the common Exemption from the executing the *Penal* Laws, and the Exerciſe of their Worſhip in their private Houſes only. 1672.

War declared againſt the Dutch.

Two Days after the King publiſhed his Declaration of War againſt the *States*, dated the 17th of *March*. This Declaration, as well as that of the foregoing War, was founded upon a great many *Generalities*, and far-fetched Pretexts. *This is not to be avoided when War is firſt reſolved on, and Reaſons and Pretences are afterwards to be ſought for* ------- "The King deduced "Hiſtorically the juſt Reaſons which he had to begin "the firſt War upon the *States*, though it had been "ended by the Treaty of *Breda*. He added, that "this Peace was no ſooner concluded than it was "violated by the *States* not ſending Commiſſioners "to *London* to ſettle the Commerce of the two Na- "tions in the *Eaſt-Indies*: That when he ſent over "his Ambaſſador to put them in mind of it, he "could not in three Years time get any Satisfaction "from them in the material Points, nor a Forbear- "ance of the Wrongs which his Subjects received in "thoſe Parts."

1ſt Reflection.

It is eaſy to ſee to what great Diſcuſſions theſe Generals are liable.

"2. He ſaid, that having reſtored *Surinam* to "them, they obliged themſelves by the Treaty of "*Breda* to permit the *Engliſh* in that Colony to go "off with their Effects; but that this was refuſed."

2d Reflection.

The Dutch *maintained on the contrary, that the* Engliſh *Inhabitants of* Surinam *remained there of their own accord.*

"3. He

1672. "3. He complained of abusive *Pictures* and *Medals* dispersed up and down in *Holland*, reflecting "upon his Honour."

3d Reflection. *The* States *in answer said, That they never knew of any of these abusive Medals besides one, and That they had ordered to be broke in pieces.*

"4. He said that in *Holland* his *Right of the Flag* "had been treated with Contempt."

4th Reflection. *It is easy to see whether his Pretension touching the Yacht which brought over the Lady* Temple *was well grounded or not.*

This was the Substance of what was most plausibly alledged for beginning this War. He ended with this Declaration ------ *And whereas we are engaged by a Treaty to support the Peace made at* Aix-la-Chapelle, *we do finally declare, That notwithstanding the Prosecution of this War, we will maintain the true Intent and Scope of the said Treaty; and that in all the Alliances which we have or shall make in the Progress of this War, we have and will take care to preserve the Ends thereof inviolable, unless provoked to the contrary.* He took but little care of his Honour, in pretending that in breaking with the *States* and leaguing with *France*, his Aim was to maintain the Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. But there was nothing so absurd which *the Cabal* did not think they could make Men swallow, though they were much mistaken, as will appear in the Sequel.

This War was so contrary to the Interests of *England* and all *Europe*, the Defence of which *Charles* had so often boasted to take in hand by means of the *Tripple-League*; it was so directly opposite to Justice, Equity, Honesty, and the Religion professed by the *English*, and publickly owned by the King, that no body could be persuaded there was any thing in it till the Blow was struck. The *Hollanders* imagined that he had no other Intention but to get a little Money from them, or at most to intimidate them till they had restored the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew to the

Posts held by his Ancestors. *France* her self could scarcely believe but that he had a Design to deceive her, till he had actually fallen upon the *Smyrna* Fleet. But all the World was mistaken in imagining that he had any kind of Affection for his People. His sole Aim was to render himself absolute in order to enjoy all the Wealth of *England* without controul, and without any Obligations to his Parliament. The Duke of *York*, his presumptive Heir, found his Account in so rare a Scheme, and besides, flattered himself with the Thought of establishing the Religion for which he was exceeding zealous. As for the *Cabal*, they were Men entirely destitute of all Principles of Honour, Justice, or Religion; each of them intent upon raising his own private Fortune upon the Ruin of the Publick. For no Man can believe that Persons of their Abilities could be ignorant, that what they were acting was directly contrary to the Interests of *England*. They did not so much as fancy that they were able to execute their grand Project without a strict Alliance first made with the King of *France*, who had the Address to persuade them that after the Republick of *Holland* should be destroyed, both Crowns would unite to render the King absolute in *England*, and establish the *Popish* Religion. But they had reason afterwards to see how much they were deceived in their Reliance upon *France*. Indeed it was no Interest of the *French* King's to render the King of *England* absolute at Home, but rather to propagate and keep up Division between the King and his Subjects, in which, by seeming to enter into the Views of *the Cabal*, he was but too successful. But the Execution of the Project met with one Obstacle, which these secret Counsellors might have foreseen, and perhaps did foresee without being able to help it. This was the King's immense Prodigality, which was the Reason that all the Sums received from *France* and the Parliament were insufficient to support the War two whole Years, so that there was a Necessity of having recourse to the Parliament, 1672.

1674. Parliament, which in the end broke their well-concerted Measures. On the other Hand, this Project having given an Alarm to all *Europe*, the *States* found Friends to ſtand by them, and render the Execution very difficult.

The French *King declares War againſt* Holland.

The ſame Day that the Declaration of War was publiſhed againſt the *States* at *London*, the like was publiſhed at *Paris*, ſupported with no better Grounds: For the King of *France* gave no other Reaſon of the War than his *Diſpleaſure* at the Carriage of the *States*. This Union between *France* and *England* (which then appeared openly, notwithſtanding the great Care to conceal it hitherto) ſhowed the Impertinence of what the King ordered the Lord-Keeper to tell the Parliament, *That common Prudence required that his Majeſty ſhould make ſuitable Preparations, when* France *had ſuch Forces both at Land and Sea.* It appeared by this that the King made no Conſcience of telling his Parliament one thing, whilſt he intended another, which could not but loſe him the Confidence of his People, as it did in Effect.

The Biſhop of Munſter *declares War againſt the* Dutch.

About a Month afterwards the Biſhop of *Munſter* likewiſe proclaimed War againſt the *Dutch*, on pretence that they had endeavoured to corrupt the Governours of his frontier Places. As for the Elector of *Cologne* he had already brought *French* Troops into his Dominions to provide, as he pretended, for his own Security. But though he proteſted an Intention to obſerve an exact Neutrality, the *States* were fully acquainted with the Treaty he had made with *France*. Thus were four Princes combined together utterly to deſtroy the Republick of the *United-Provinces*, not to mention ſeveral Princes of *Germany* engaged beforehand by the King of *France* to ſtand Neuter, in order to tie up their Hands from giving any Aſſiſtance to the *Dutch*.

The Elector of Cologne *an Ally of* France.

Offers made by the States to pacify the King.

The *States* having for ſome time ſeen this Storm gathering, endeavoured to divert it, by offering the King of *England* all the Satisfaction he could reaſonably expect. They offered to agree to whatever h

he desired with regard to the Flag, and besides, they had on the 24th of *February* made the Prince of *Orange* Captain-General and Admiral, though he was then but Two and Twenty Years of Age. They believed that this would content the King his Uncle, being ignorant that his Design was to overturn their Republick, without any Thought or Concern for the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*. This Change in favour of the young Prince would, it may be, have never been made, had it not been deemed necessary to appease the King of *England*. There were three Parties in *Holland*: That of the Pensioner, which bore the greatest Sway, and was called the *Louvestein*-Party, from the Name of the Castle where the Prince's Father had shut up the Leading-Men of that Faction: That of the Prince of *Orange*; and a Third which affected a Neutrality, and had as yet declared for neither of the other Two. But on this Occasion this Third Faction believed it of absolute Necessity to come into that of the Prince of *Orange*, in hopes of satisfying the King of *England*. The *States* therefore sent a Deputation to the Prince to make him the Offer of the Dignities of Captain-General and Admiral, and the Pensioner *de Wit*, to his Mortfication, was appointed head of this Deputation. Thus the Prince of *Orange* saw himself Captain-General but without an Army, or at least with a very small one, filled for the most Part with unexperienced Officers, advanced more for their Attachment to the Pensioner, than any personal Merit of their own.

1672. *The Prince of* Orange *made Captain-General and Admiral.*

I shall not give a particular Account of the Progress of the King of *France*, and his two Allies the Bishop of *Munster* and the Elector of *Cologne*, in the first Campaign. This is so well known, that it would be time thrown away to relate it. Let it suffice to observe, that the King of *France* took the Field in the Beginning of *May*; made himself Master of several Places upon the *Rhine*, almost without any Opposition; and swimming that River, became Master

Progress and Conquests of the King of France,

1672. of all *Guelderland* and the Towns upon the *Issel*; and that *Utrecht* sent Deputies as far as *Doesburgh* to meet him with the Tender of submitting to his Orders.

Of the Bishop of Munster. At the same time the Bishop of *Munster*, after having laid waste the Province of *Overyssel*, fell upon *Friseland* and *Groninghen*, so that only *Holland* and *Zealand* remained free, and even the former was threatned with a like Invasion.

But this was by no means all that the *States* had to fear. Whilst Three of their Provinces were lost, Two more attacked, the Danger from Sea was full as great. The two Fleets of *France* and *England* joined the Beginning of *May*; the first consisting of Forty, and the last of a Hundred Sail of Men of War. That of the *States* had Seventy-two large Ships, and Forty Frigats and Fireships, and consequently was far short in Number of the combined Fleets of *England* and *France*. It was commanded by the famous *Ruyter*, assisted by *Cornelius de Wit* the Pensioner's Brother, as Deputy from the *States*. *Ruyter* having put to Sea before the Enemies Fleets were joined, had done his utmost to prevent the Junction. But not succeeding, and being informed that the two Fleets rode at Anchor at *Solebay* in the County of *Suffolk*, he resolved to fall upon them there. He had like to have surprized them, but being disappointed prepared for an Engagement. The two Fleets of *France* and *England* (making now but one) were ranged in Three Squadrons. The Duke of *York*, Lord High-Admiral of *England*, commanded the *Red Squadron*; the Count *d'Etrées* the *White*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* the *Blue*. The Fleet of the *States* was likewise divided in the same manner; *Ruyter* being opposed to the Duke of *York*, *Bankers* to Count *d'Etrées*, and *Van Ghent* to the Earl of *Sandwich*. All that I can gather from the various Descriptions of this Battle, fought on the 28th of *May*, is, that both Sides displayed all the Art and Skill which Experience had given the Commanders

A naval Engagement at Solebay.

and Officers of either; that they fought with equal Bravery, with almoſt equal Loſs, and both Sides challenged the Victory. The Admiral's Ship of the *Engliſh* being diſabled, the Duke of *York* was obliged to hoiſt his Flag on board another. The *Royal James* commanded by the Earl of *Sandwich* not being able to diſengage from a Fireſhip, after ſhe had ſunk Two, was blown up with the Earl and her whole Crew *. The *Engliſh* loſt two Ships more, the *Hollanders* Three, and *Van Ghent* was killed. The Hiſtorians of the two Parties equally pretend to the Honour of chaſing the Enemies Fleet, but both the one and the other ſpeak in a Manner which diſcovers no great Aſſurance. For it is not with Engagements at Sea as with thoſe at Land, where commonly he that remains upon the Field of Battle has a Right to aſſume the Honour of the Victory: whereas in Naval Engagements, a Fog, a Calm, a Wind, either contrary or tempeſtuous, may force the Fleet which has had the Advantage to retire the firſt. However this be, Bonefires were equally made at *London* and the *Hague* for Joy of this Victory, though with very little reaſon on either Side. The *Engliſh* complained that the *French* were wanting in their Duty, and only fought at a Diſtance, after they had ſeparated from the Fleet. This Conduct was aſcribed to ſecret Orders given to Count *d'Etrées* not to expoſe too much his Majeſty's Ships, but to leave the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets to effect their own Deſtruction. 1672.

The Victory uncertain.

* Of the Thouſand Men on board, Six Hundred were killed on the Deck. When the Ship was on fire, the Earl retired to his Cabbin, where he was followed by his Captain Sir *Richard Haddock*, who finding him with a Handkerchief before his Eyes, told him of the Danger; but he anſwered, *He ſaw how things went, and was reſolved to periſh with the Ship.* It ſeems the Day before the Duke of *York* had let fall ſome words that reflected on the Earl's Courage.

1672. *Advancements at Court.*

Sometime before, the King had created the Earl of *Lauderdale* a Duke of the ſame Name; the Lord *Aſhley*, *Earl of Shaftsbury*; the Lord *Arlington*, *Earl of Arlington*; and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, *Lord Clifford*. At or about the ſame time Sir *Thomas Osborn* was ſworn into the Privy-Council, and the new Duke of *Lauderdale* and the Earl of *Arlington* received the Order of the *Garter*. Theſe Promotions were doubtleſs the King's Acknowledgments to theſe Members of *the Cabal* for the great Services done him in adviſing him to ſuſpend, by his ſole Authority, the Execution of two *Acts* of Parliament, till he ſhould think fit to take off the Suſpenſion. Though this Suſpenſion was in itſelf no way diſadvantagious to the Publick; nevertheleſs, as it proceeded from the ſame Principle by which the King aſſumed to himſelf a Power of ſuſpending the *Penal* Laws againſt the *Non-conformiſts*, it was ſufficiently clear that he would not ſtop there.

The King ſuſpends the Execution of two Acts of Parliament.

I have already taken notice of the ſad Condition of the *States-General*. Two of the *Provinces*, that is to ſay, *Guelderland* and *Utrecht* were in Poſſeſſion of the *French*. *Overyſſel* was in the Hands of the Elector of *Cologne* and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. The two Provinces of *Friſeland* and *Groninghen* were not only threatned, but actually attacked. In ſhort, the Province of *Holland* found no readier way to ſtop the Progreſs of the *French* King, who was at *Utrecht*, than by opening the Sluices, and laying the Country under Water. This melancholy Situation of Affairs gave terrible Uneaſineſs to the People of *Holland*, and as the Penſioner *de Wit* had been many Years at the Head of Affairs, all the Calamities which his Country felt were charged to his ill Conduct. But the Populace went ſtill farther, and openly accuſed him of having betrayed his Country. At laſt this general Diſcontent roſe into Sedition, and brought the *States* of *Holland* to a Reſolution to vacate the perpetual Edict

Holland *in a moſt deplorable Condition.*

Edict made in the Year 1667, by which they had obliged themſelves never to admit the Prince of *Orange* to the Dignity of *Stadtholder*. The People were diſcharged from the Obligation which an Oath for that purpoſe laid on them, and the Prince was admitted to the Office of *Stadtholder*. Some time after the two Brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, one grand Bailiff of *Putten*, and the other Penſioner of *Holland*, but who had lately thrown up his Employ, were torn to pieces by the Rabble of the *Hague*. The Story is too well known to mention any of the Circumſtances of it. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that the Prince of *Orange* remained in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Holland* and *Zealand*. *Friſeland* and *Groninghen* had a ſeparate *Stadtholder*. The young Prince *John Caſimir* of *Naſſau*, was under the Tuition of the Princeſs his Mother, and the other three Provinces, were in the Hands of the Enemy. 1672.

Admits the Prince of Orange *to the Office of* Stadtholder.

The two De Wits *tore to Pieces by the Rabble.*

The King of *France*, who ever dreaded the Advancement of the Prince of *Orange*, no ſooner ſaw him inveſted with this eminent Dignity, than he endeavoured to corrupt him with the offered Sovereignty of *Holland*. But he found this young Prince deaf to all his Offers, and reſolute to ſerve the *State* which had honoured him with its Government, to the laſt Moment of his Life. The King of *England* ſeconded his Ally in this Deſign. The *States* had ſent Ambaſſadors to him with Propoſals of Peace, as they had done to the King of *France* then at *Utrecht*. But the King, after a Refuſal of treating otherwiſe than in Conjunction with *France*, and fearing the *States* had a Deſign to diſunite, or give him and his Brother of *France* a mutual Diſtruſt of each other, diſpatched the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Arlington*, (two Members of the *Cabal*) into *Holland*, on Pretence of treating of a Peace jointly with *France*: Theſe Ambaſſadors paſſing through the *Hague*, in their way to *Utrecht*, affected to give out, that they

The King of France *tries to corrupt the Prince of* Orange, *but in vain.*

Charles *ſends Ambaſſadors into* Holland.

1672. were come to bring Peace. But when they were to enter into Treaty, their Propoſals were ſo extravagant, that it was evident Peace was not the Thing deſigned by this Ambaſſy: The intent of it was rather to bind the Alliance between *France* and *England* more firmly, and to concert new Meaſures for the Proſecution of the War, as the Sequel clearly diſcovered. In his way through the *Hague*, the Duke of *Buckingham* asked the Prince what it was he propoſed to himſelf in the deſperate Situation of his Country's Affairs. To which the Prince replied, *That it was true their Condition was dangerous, but he had one way ſtill not to ſee its Ruin compleated, and that was to lye in the laſt Dyke.* It is reported that the ſame Duke, in a Viſit to the Princeſs of *Orange*, having told her that they were good *Hollanders*, was immediately anſwered by her——*That was more than they asked, which was only that they ſhould be good* Engliſhmen. For this War was ſo evidently contrary to the Intereſt of *England*, that the *Engliſh* themſelves openly complained of it. But as I have already ſaid, not only on this Occaſion, but through this whole Reign, the Intereſt of the King, and thoſe of the People were directly oppoſite. The King after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, thought he could ſtop the Mouths of the People by putting out Proclamations to forbid, under ſevere Penalties, the taking any Liberties with the Government, but this only made them launch out into a more unbounded Licence.

Lewis *marches into* Flanders.

In the mean Time the King of *France* ſeeing that the Inundation, occaſioned by opening the Sluices, rendered it impoſſible for him to continue his Conqueſts in *Holland*, marched his Army into *Flanders*, leaving the Duke of *Luxemburgh* at *Utrecht*, and came to *Paris* in the Month of *Auguſt*, attended by the Duke of *Monmouth*, who in purſuance of the Treaty with the *French* King, had brought to his Aſſiſtance,

in

in the opening of the Campaign, ſix Thouſand effectual Men. 1672.

I ſhall not here enter into the Detail of the War carried on by Land during the reſt of the Campaign, becauſe *England* had no ſhare in it, and beſides, the Hiſtories of that Time are full of it. It is ſufficient for the Reader to know in general, that though the *States* had ſome Succeſs againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*, their Affairs were nevertheleſs reduced to a wretched Condition, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* in their Neighbourhood ſcarce gave them any Time to Breath. Their whole Refuge lay in the Alliance they expected to make with the Emperour, *Spain*, and ſome Princes of *Germany*, and in the hopes that the *Engliſh* Parliament which was to meet according to its Prorogation, the 30th of *October*, would open their Eyes and ſee the Intereſt of *England*, and of all *Europe*. But the King deprived them of this laſt Refuge, by proroguing the Parliament to the Month of *February*.

The Dutch *conceive great Hopes from the Parliament.*

The 4th of *December* the King declared in Council, that he would raiſe more Forces, and diſpoſe of them in convenient Quarters, to be ready on any preſſing Occaſion. And for Payment of them, he ordered that the *Exchequer* ſhould continue ſhut till the 1ſt of *May* 1673, though he had given his poſitive Promiſe that it ſhould be opened in the Beginning of the Year. He iſſued out on this occaſion a Proclamation, in which it was ſaid, that notwithſtanding his Majeſty had not been wanting on his Part to comply with all honourable ways that might effect a Peace, yet the Continuance of thoſe inevitable Neceſſities which firſt obliged him to ſhut up the *Exchequer*, compelled him to continue to ſtop the Payment of Moneys till the 1ſt of *May* next. Doubting not but that his loving Subjects would have ſuch Truſt and Confidence in his Juſtice, that it would take away all Apprehenſions of their being in the leaſt defrauded of their juſt Dues.

The Exchequer *ſhut by a new Order.*

1672. *The King's Demands for a Peace.*

The Ways and Means to effect a Peace mentioned in the Proclamation were, the Demand, of the King's two Ambaſſadors ſent to *Utrecht*, of a Million of Pounds *Sterling*, to defray the Expences of the War; the Complement of the Flag without any Exception; a Hundred Thouſand Pounds Yearly for the Liberty of Fiſhing; the Sovereignty of all that ſhould remain of the *United Provinces*, for his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*; a Participation of the whole *India*-Trade enjoyed by the *States*; the Town of *Sluis*, the Iſles of *Cadſant*, *Walcheron*, *Goerée*, *Voerne*; and laſtly, an entire Satisfaction to the King of *France*. One muſt have been as obſtinate as were the *States* to find any Fault with ſuch reaſonable Demands. Conſequently the King could not in Honour excuſe himſelf from continuing the War, and keeping the *Exchequer* ſhut to maintain it.

Coventry *made Secretary,*

Sir *John Trevor* dying this Year, Sir *Henry Coventry*, lately returned from *Sweden*, where he had ſucceſsfully negotiated for the King, ſucceeded him in the Office of Secretary of State.

and Shaftsbury *Lord Chancellor*

Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* reſigning the Great-Seal, the new Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord High Chancellor. A few Days after the King kept his Promiſe with *Clifford*, by making him Lord-Treaſurer, ſo that all the great Offices of the State were held by the *Cabal*, or by Perſons devoted to their Intereſts. But to let the Reader ſee how the five Lords of the *Cabal* flattered the King, and one another at a Time when the Nation was loudly exclaiming againſt the Government, I ſhall inſert here Part of a Speech made by the Lord *Shaftsbury*, as Chancellor, to the Lord *Clifford*, when he tendred him the Oath in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, upon his Admiſſion to the Office of Treaſurer. After he had repreſented to him the Duties of the Poſt he was entring upon, he added,—

" *My Lord*, I may juſtly ſay you are in a Place of " the very firſt Rank as to Dignity, Power, Truſt, " and Influence of Affairs; a Place that requires

" ſuch

" ſuch a Man as our great Maſter's Wiſdom hath 1672.
" found for it; from whoſe natural Temper we may
" expect Courage, Quickneſs, and Reſolution; from
" whoſe Education Wiſdom, and Experience; and
" from whoſe Extraction, that Noble and Illuſtrious
" Houſe of the *Cliffords* *, an heroick Mind, a large
" Soul, and an unſhaken Fidelity to the Crown. *My*
" *Lord*, it is a great Honour, much even beyond the
" Place it ſelf, that you are choſen to it by the King,
" who, without Flattery, I may ſay, is as great a
" Maſter in the Knowledge of Men and Things, as
" this, or any other Age hath produced: And let me
" ſay farther, it is not only your Honour that you
" are choſen by him, but your Safety too, that you
" have him to ſerve; with whom no ſubtle Inſinua-
" tions of any near him, nor the aſpiring Intereſt of
" a Favourite, ſhall ever prevail againſt thoſe that
" ſerve him well. Nor can his Servants fear to be
" ſacrificed to the Malice, Fury, or Miſtake of a
" more popular ſwelling Greatneſs: A Prince un-
" der whom the unfortunate fall gently: A Prince
" in a Word, that beſt of all Mankind deſerves the
" Title of *Deliciæ Humani Generis.* Let me end with
" this Wiſh, or rather Prophecy, that you may ex-
" ceed all your Predeceſſors in this Place; the Abi-
" lities and Fidelity of the renowned Lord *Burleigh*;
" the Sagacity, Quickneſs, and great Diſpatch of his
" Son the Lord *Salisbury*; and the Uprightneſs, In-
" tegrity, and Wiſdom of that great Man that went
" laſt before you, the Earl of *Southampton*."

It will be ſeen hereafter, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* preſerved not long theſe Sentiments of Eſteem and Admiration for the King, expreſſed in this Speech.

* The Treaſurer was not deſcended from the *Cliffords* Earls of *Cumberland*, which Family was extinct before the Reſtoration.

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